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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

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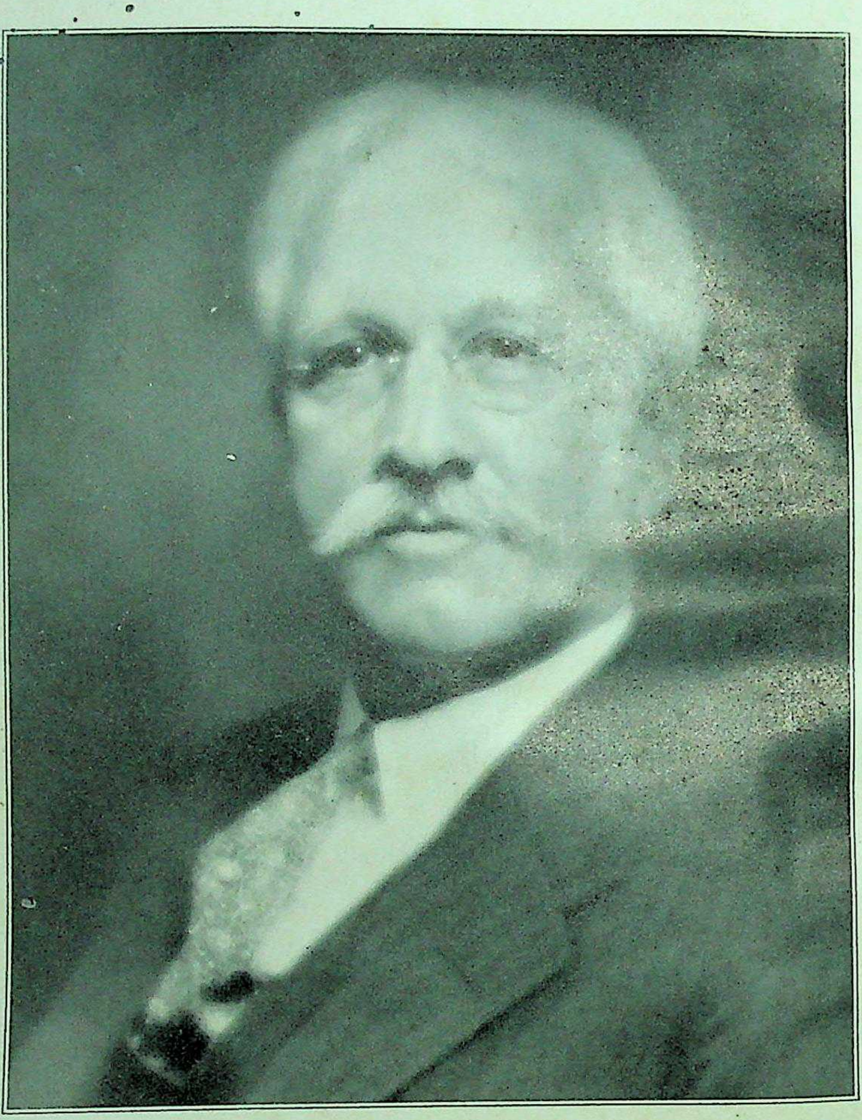

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

THE OPEN COURT

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BREASTED THE HISTORIAN

BY A. T. OLMSTEAD

JAMES HENRY BREASTED was a great man and, therefore, many sided in character. As philologist, archaeologist, and administrator he was equally outstanding; others may attempt an evaluation of his significance to these fields; for many he was preeminently the great historian.

Today it is difficult for us, knowing as we do the importance of the oriental world, to realize what he accomplished almost single handed. When, in 1894, he began his career at the University of Chicago, there was not one professor of ancient history in an American university. Courses in Greek, Roman, or Oriental History were given, if at all, by some instructor in the classics or in Semitic languages who happened to have a free hour; the situation was not without its advantages: it recognized the close connection of ancient history with ancient languages and literatures, it resulted in a history which subordinated the politics so emphasized by the professional historian in other fields to the culture, and it produced ancient historians like Professor Breasted.

But truly historical research was still in the future. Historians by profession had definitely abandoned ancient history to the philologist and the theologian, to them true history was limited to the later western peoples. When one young graduate student, suspecting there might be a future in the ancient history of the Near East, attended his first meeting of the American Historical Association, he was treated courteously but inspected curiously as a strange animal who had wandered into the wrong zoo.

Breasted's *History of Egypt* was first published in 1905. Received at first with little attention, after a bit its sales began to increase until it became the accepted guide book for tourists in

Egypt, and its author was recognized as the first American historian in this field. It was a new kind of history, based, indeed, on the most exacting scholarship as revealed in the accompanying Records of Egypt with new collations of almost every text, but written with an understanding sympathy for the men of this far-off world and with a literary skill which made it for every reader, in very truth, the "living past."

Meanwhile, interest in this ancient world was growing; a few chairs of ancient history were established; in 1909 the American Historical Association recognized the new field by a special section to honor the German historian, Eduard Meyer. Next year, with only local talent, the youthful practitioners of the new discipline attempted another session at Indianapolis. Plans were carefully prepared in advance for "spontaneous discussion." At the close, when the youngsters were wondering whether they had put ancient history across, a handsome man with a magnificent crest of white hair walked over and said: "Boys, that was a fine program. I heard you were having an ancient history session and I came down from Chicago. I'm Breasted."

Already recognized as one of America's outstanding historians, he would have been welcomed by his ranking colleagues. Instead, he dined and talked with us, discussed our problems, praised our work, made tactful suggestions, and thrilled us with his experiences in the Orient. That the annual sessions of the Ancient History section have become noted for their liveness is in no small part the result of those hotel room meetings.

By a curious coincidence, nineteen years later we met again in Indianapolis. The president of the American Historical Association was James Henry Breasted, the first historian of antiquity to be so honored by his colleagues. At the dinner in his honor, the former youngsters met as recognized professionals. His presidential address announced the new Oriental Institute. So far had ancient history advanced in those nineteen years.

For Professor Breasted, they had been years of triumph and of disappointment. Public interest in the ancient Near East had been growing rapidly, in no small degree through his own efforts, and the results of excavations had betaken as of right the front page in the newspapers. His *Ancient Times,* for a generation *the* ancient history textbook in countless high schools and colleges, taught thousands of young minds that the ancient world was as fascinating as the modern for whose understanding the ancient world offered so much practical wisdom. For more mature readers, the same living story was told in his *Conquest of Civilization.*

One picture stands out in my memory. We were chatting of new discoveries not yet published when suddenly he mentioned a letter from a high-school student and his detailed answer. Mrs. Breasted, seated near by, commented: "He spends so much precious time on those letters." The reply was like a trumpet call: "One never knows what young soul may be inspired to something great; I may not be able to answer all letters in person, I must answer letters from these eager young students." There was the true Breasted, whose faith was in the youth of the future.

That faith was sorely tried. While the public was ever more eager for archaeological news, while ancient history assumed its true place in school and college, oriental research was declining, fewer opportunities were open to the young scholar. "In my desperation," he once confided, "I thought of a great organization to train and support the youth who wished to enter this field and thus save Oriental studies in America."

Again and again his dreams of such an organization seemed about to become realities, and then came disappointment. The World War wrecked one such plan. Still the dream persisted, and he followed it with dogged persistence until in his last years it came true through the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

When the new Oriental Institute was announced, it was declared on every side that it meant an archaeological monopoly, that no other institution could compete. This was not his belief and his faith has already been justified. Today, the University of Michigan has a similar Institute, devoted more especially to the Graeco-Roman Orient, and in close cooperation with our own. Reports of the work of these two Institutes and of the Yale expedition to Dura-Europus were given at the recent Ancient History section of the American Historical Association. Chicago has its Field Museum expedition at Kish and its Presbyterian Theological Seminary dig at Beth Zur; other fruitful expeditions of the Metropolitan Museum, the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, the Schools at Jerusalem and Baghdad, the Institute for Persian Art, are only a few of the projects which have been stimulated by this new interest.

His triumph was not without its shadows. At the height of his reputation, in the full maturity of his powers, Professor Breasted deliberately turned his back on the personal research, which to him was the breath of life, and devoted his last years to administration of the great organization which was to provide his young men with a future. He regretted his enforced abandonment of teaching: "My head is now all woozy because I can not sharpen it on the minds of those bright young men," he congratulated those who still held classes. He might express his detestation of "this atrocious administration which keeps me from real work," but the next moment he was enthusiastically praising a new discovery in the field or inquiring the work of the last research fellow, and always there was talk of the future.

The historian of that future must assess his contribution to American thought. Already it is clear that few scholars in all history have so influenced the thinking of his generation. To him as to no other man we owe the unveiling of the far distant past. What that unveiling of millennia of written history, that doubling in geological time of man's existence in the dim prehistoric past, that realization of man's first steps in the "Conquest of Civilization," those significant and sometimes terrifying parallels with the present will mean to the expanding human mind we cannot fully realize. Through his writings and his personality, his direct influence has been highly significant, but equally significant for the future will be the survival of that influence through the group of young scholars for whose life-work he abandoned his own beloved research.

LEADERSHIP IN ANCIENT ASIA

BY ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

ASIA is large, and Ancient Asia endured a long time. Perhaps Western Asia had better be left out of a short discussion, so that attention will be directed toward India and China. Also the vast time known as prehistory, vaguely remote in its beginning and not the same everywhere as regards its ending, may as well also be left out of the picture. How can anyone know who were the leaders, how they came to lead, and what their leadership was like, in the days of

"Old, forgotten, far-off things,
And battlefields of long ago"?

In lands and times where the great man was not suffered to enter upon the long sleep naked, impoverished, and alone, but was given his weapons, his ornaments and his dog, his chair, his chariot, and his horses, yes, also his charioteer, and his menservants and maidservants: even then we can know only a little about his greatness and the fear or reverence in which he was held while alive. As for his policies and powers, nothing remains to explain them — perhaps no record can be found even of his name.

At any rate, this is not the place for attempting to trace what can be known of Asiatic leadership before the time of written records. Only that will serve which was written down in some translatable language and in some enduring form. Even thus, so much has perished and so much has been damaged, so much error has been introduced and so much truth has been edited away, that judgment must often be suspended and conclusions must often be held tentative.

Not yet, if ever, can it be known with certainty how the political ideas of one quarter of Asia influenced those of other quarters. The temptation arises to derive from the imperial system of Alexander of Macedon, itself a later link in a long chain of Western Asiatic dominion, the patterns of rule which appeared after one or two generations in the India of Chandragupta Maurya, grandfather of Asoka; and in the China of Shih Huang Ti, builder of the Great Wall.

Whether or not these more or less contemporary leaders in India and China knew much or anything about each other's personalities, lands, or ways, the knowledge which survives about them in their own countries may help the present age to understand not only Hirohito and Chiang Kai-shek, but also Mussolini and Hitler, and possibly MacDonald and Franklin Roosevelt. Perhaps Asian man differs essentially from European man: perhaps two thousand years have profoundly changed the character of humanity and, therefore, of the men who are permitted to become leaders; perhaps twentieth-century leaders anywhere on the earth are a new breed, a novel emergence of leadership: but if none of these things are true, then the leadership of Ancient Asia can be studied with modern profit.

Now the Asia of two dozen centuries ago, while we call it ancient, was of course very modern, in the paradoxical sense of being at the time very old. Through long previous ages primitive types of leadership had developed into methods of government. With unnumbered throes a system of local relationships had grown to durability in village and town life, with headmen and councils, and with captains, priests, nobles, and scholars. Larger units had arisen, warring and shifting, more or less closely governed by petty lords, princes, and kings; the latter with ministers to aid them in their functions, a chief adviser and executive, a chief priest, a commander-in-chief for the army, and other regularized leaders of the different aspects of human life. A tendency always existed toward permanency, so that a leader, whether wonder-worker, smith, priest, or king, should not only remain such while he lived, but should also hand on his preëminence to a son or relative, so that his family would for a long time stand out above the common run of mankind. But the hereditary leader was always expected to render valuable services in one way or another, usually in many ways, to his followers and his community. If he should become unable to do this, if for example, as a commander he should fail to win victory, or worse yet, if he should fail in organizing and leading the defence of the community, then he and his family were subject to deposition and perhaps destruction. The right of revolution existed in both Ancient India and Ancient China, should the favor of the gods or the mandate of heaven be withdrawn, as revealed by oppressions and disasters.

But revolution itself needs leaders. The people, when in an undifferentiated homogeneous mass, can act only as a mob which may destroy blindly, but can hardly at all build up. In fact, the shreds of leadership that may remain in almost any antiquated system are ordinarily sufficient to maintain the *status quo* against unorganized dissatisfaction, however great. Revolution then involves a change of leadership, following a struggle between the old leader and the new. Perhaps this was once done, as some have thought, in an unwitnessed duel with sharp swords within the shadow of a sacred tree; but leadership could not be changed so simply in the Ancient Asia of historic times. In fact the problem was very similar then and now. Not only can the rise of modern dictatorship be better understood by studying the ancients, but the contrary is also true, that the rise of contemporary leaders helps explain that of Chandragupta Maurya and Shih Huang Ti.

Let us then look somewhat more closely at Alexandrian India and its need of and opportunity for an ambitious aspirant to supreme power. Information is unusually abundant, considering the age and the fact that the peoples of India were comparatively uninterested in the external achievements of mankind. Nevertheless, many of the details of Chandragupta's rise to power are either lacking or variant.

Perhaps we do not always remember that three of the principal theaters for Alexander's performances were similar: the Greco-Macedonian, the Persian, and the Indian peoples, in linguistic, religious, and cultural conditions, were derived from a common ancestry of perhaps only ten to twenty centuries previous. The three groups could understand each other far better than we can understand any of them. An extraordinarily successful adventurer from Macedonia, conqueror of Persia, might well provide the pattern for a younger aspirant to vast empire in India.

Māgadha was in those years an important kingdom in the lower Ganges valley. Its capital Pātaliputra, near the modern Patna, was a great and flourishing city. Two hundred years earlier, this kingdom had been immortalized for much of Asia by the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha, a religious and philosophical reformer, whose somewhat subversive teachings contained fresh and increasing popular appeal. The Nanda dynasty had held the throne for about a century, and had scandalized aristocratic opinion by its disregard of caste. In fact Alexander was told about 326 B.C. that the reigning Nanda "was a man of worthless character, the son of a barber, and that he had obtained the throne by the murder of his predecessor, whose chief queen he had corrupted."

Had Alexander's soldiers not refused to go farther from home, he might with no great difficulty have crossed to the Ganges, followed it down, and broken the power of the Nandas; the Macedonian empire would then have been extended across North India, and no opportunity might have come to Chandragupta. As it was, the young man — some say that when he visited the camp of Alexander he was not yet of age — had to sustain no rivalry from the westerners for thirty years, until in middle life his power had become more than a match for that of Seleucus, called from his successes elsewhere Niketor, the Victor.

Clearly people of substance and position in Māgadha and its dependencies — particularly the Brahmans, who might be called the bourgeoisie or capitalists of the time — had had enough of the Nandas and were ready to support one who might overthrow them. The tale that Chandragupta was the illegitimate son of a Nanda king smacks of an attempt to improve his social standing and legal right by false genealogy. More probably he was a capable middle-class youth whose superior military capacity led to his advancement to the position of *Senāpati* or Commander-in-chief of the Nanda army. A first attempt at revolt led to defeat. Chandragupta escaped and fled the country. He had perhaps already received the support of the shrewdest man of the age, the Brahman Chanakya, or Kautilya, who in that case escaped with him. These two, a military genius and a crafty statesman and diplomat, were the combination which built the first great Indian Empire.

Chandragupta and Chanakya, probably starting with a nucleus of Māgadhans similarly in exile, gathered a confederacy of powers in the upper Ganges valley, and returned to meet the Nanda king in battle. They slew him and entered Pātaliputra victorious. The next steps perhaps were to encompass the death of their chief ally and to force the submission of the rest. Chandragupta was then king of Māgadha and overlord of much else. As king he acquired all the powers of traditional and settled leadership. In addition he built up a great empire. During his twenty-four years of rule and the similar span of his son, Bindusara, nearly all of the Indian peninsula, besides Afghanistan and Baluchistan at the west, was brought together, to be delivered about 274 B.C. into the hands of his famous grandson Asoka.

Few particulars remain describing the expansion of Chandragupta's government over so wide a domain. Whether from lack of power in spite of the Machiavellian assistance of Kautilya, or from deliberate policy, the component kingdoms and republics of the lands acquired were not sufficiently destroyed or dissolved into a centralized unity, so as to produce a continuously permanent type of organization. Probably the religious forces were too great to be coped with. Apparently Chandragupta himself was carried out of power by overwhelming religious emotion; if so be, he became a devout Jain, abdicated in favor of his son, and finally starved himself to death. Such an ending fits closely the pattern of Hindu practice, aside from the relatively temporary attitudes of Buddhism. His grandson, the Buddhist Asoka, could become an ascetic and a devotee, and still could hold the throne to the end of his days.

The government described by Kautilya in his *Arthasāstra* is presumably that of Chandragupta, with himself as chief adviser, albeit somewhat perfected — one can hardly say idealized. This government was strong and severe, efficient and penetrating. Its spies watched everything and everybody, from the food in the kitchen to the guard on the frontier. Its foreign policy was decidedly practical: a neighbor was an enemy to be subjugated; a non-adjacent power was a friend and ally to be cultivated, until the intervening neighbor should have become incorporated. Victories were to be won if need be by infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants; but preferably by the more peaceful methods of treachery, bribery, suspicion, and dissension.

A standing army, apparently of no less than 700,000 men, was controlled by a war council of thirty men, working in six committees of five each. The capital city was also ruled by a council of thirty, working in six committees or boards. An imperial system was thus devised, capable of lasting through three reigns. Broken up, and imitated at intervals later, it served remotely as a model for the British unification of India.

The rise to power of Shih Huang Ti bears at first sight even less resemblance to that of recent dictators than the rise of Chandragupta. In both cases, however, connection with the previously ruling family was expected by custom, and provided in legend, if not in fact. The accepted story is that the father of the great Chinese emperor was a shrewd merchant, Lü Pu-wei, who about 260 B.C. gave up his beautiful wife to be the wife of the crown prince of Ts'in, but who did not entirely cease his friendship for the lady. (A similar doubt of paternal descent exists, it may be remembered, as regards the powerful and able Macedonian dynasty in the East Roman Empire, eleven centuries later.) The prince became king of Ts'in in 249 B.C., and at his death three years later the beautiful lady's son Prince Chung became the king of Ts'in. Twenty-five years afterward Chung assumed the imperial title by which he is commonly known, Shih Huang Ti.

China in 246 B.C. was restricted in size and population and divided feudally. Though the great philosophers of the three previous centuries had planned the good life for individuals and governments, settled peace did not prevail internally; and organized strength did not exist sufficient to protect the Chinese against the barbarians from the north and west. In recent decades, however, the kingdom of Ts'in had been gaining at the expense of its Chinese neighbors, and a machine of government of considerable strength had been built up. The king had a premier with a cabinet of six lesser ministers, the mandarins of Heaven, Earth, and the Four Seasons, who had charge of departments of general supervision and household affairs, agriculture, religious business, military affairs, punishments, and public works. The king's government was connected with the population by groups of officials and by feudal nobles, whose prerogatives and occasional rebellions were the source of much trouble. Tradition whose fidelity to fact cannot here be evaluated, contrasted earlier golden times with contemporary crudities. Progress, as so often in human affairs, was expected to be attained by looking backward.

Shih Huang Ti like Chandragupta had capable advisers, to whom no doubt much of his successful imperial construction was due. During the first years of his reign his alleged father, Lü Pu-wei, was chief assistant. After Lü's disgrace in 238 the scholar Li Ssŭ became prime minister and, in that office, outlived his lord. Capable helpers can, however, by no means account wholly for the success of Shih Huang Ti. An extraordinarily powerful personality was there, ever striving and driving. Fragments of barrier walls were joined together firmly on the north to complete the still existing Great Wall of China. Armies of infantry, cavalry, and chariots conquered successively the component states of older China, and dissolved their organization into the central unity. The planning of these achievements was only the beginning. The barbarians beyond the Wall were subdued by energetic expeditions. Troops accustomed to victory went southwest and south, until not only were the present boundaries of China proper reached, but peoples in Indo-China gave allegiance.

Shih Huang Ti reorganized thoroughly the government of his vastly increased dominions. Feudal relationships were ruthlessly destroyed. An imperial hierarchy of officials was created, including a minister of war, a minister of the interior, a chief of the palaces, a chief justice, and a supervisor of barbarians, whose functions in a system which knew no foreign countries were the nearest possible to those of a minister of foreign affairs. The ministry of public works sketched out many features of a New Deal — a road system, canals, irrigation works, and the like, not to speak of that major enterprise of all time, the Great Wall. The Emperor traveled constantly, supervising what was being done and formulating new plans. Taxation bore more and more heavily; conquest and glory presented bills which could not easily be paid. Government bonds had not yet been invented. .

Dissatisfaction found leaders among the scholars, who discerned too many innovations and too serious departures from the models of the golden past. The vigorous emperor was not to be balked. He ordered a burning of all books, except certain practical works, and decreed that scholars who might disobey should be punished, even unto death. Nor did his threats fail of execution. This action came as near as was possible in China to an attack upon religion and the church, and caused the Emperor from that day until now to be ranked as a very wicked man. Like Chandragupta he appears to have chosen heretical views in his later years, conforming his belief and practice to the lower superstitious side of Taoism. The circumstances of his burial and of the succession to the throne seem to have become adorned with legendary additions before one hundred years had elapsed.

Nevertheless, the system which he established, taken up promptly by strong emperors of the earlier Han dynasty, became the substantial framework of Chinese political life, which endured even until our own age.

Certain general points of comparison and contrast may be made between these ancient leaders in India and China, and *Il Duce* and *Der Fuehrer* of today. All four leaders rose to control in established civilizations with well-developed governments. All reached power by accepted methods, adapted to the time and place: Chandragupta killed his predecessor in battle; Shih Huang Ti was born of the legal wife of a prince who became a king; Mussolini was appointed Prime Minister of Italy; Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany, and his exceptional powers were granted by the Reichstag, representing the people. All four leaders demanded absolute obedience; all suppressed rival parties; all reorganized their nations internally with a mixture of conservatism and novelty. All appear to have obtained active support from the propertied and privileged classes by appearing to save these groups from worse leaders than themselves. All were men of tremendous energies; all apparently were propagandists and showmen; all were incessant travelers within their boundaries.

Let us look quickly at certain contrasts in the activities of these men, aside from the difference of twenty-four centuries in time and half the world in space.

In the first place, each of the two great ancients had one or more conspicuously able helpers, who shared the continuous burden of government and took the blame for much of the "dirty work." The modern dictators are their own prime ministers; their loads are comparatively much heavier. Again, the quantity of human blood poured out, in severe punishments, repression of revolts, and conquest, shows up to the present moment a great preponderance for the ancient leaders; obviously the comparison in this respect can now be only tentative; the modern leaders have not ended their stories.

A similar reservation must be made as regards imperial advance. Chandragupta and Shih Huang Ti rank by territorial measure among the world's great conquerors. Mussolini has not yet clear title even to parts of Ethiopia. Hitler can point only to the Saar basin. But the modern leaders have both indicated what they would like to do. Mussolini has talked of restoring the Roman Empire, which included among other territories all of France, Spain, and the Balkan Peninsula, with a large part of Britain. Hitler has thought not only of the Corridor, Alsace-Lorraine, and Austria; but also of undefined areas in Russia, and of a great colonial domain. Give Mussolini the forty years of Shih Huang Ti; give Hitler the twenty-four years of Chandragupta: and what may they not accomplish in a divided and irrational world? Nevertheless — and here is the last point of contrast — the two ancient leaders seem to have had a far freer hand than the moderns can possibly have; the former started from the strongest and richest regions in their respective worlds; while the latter are each overshadowed by contemporary powers, banded together in a League of Nations to restrain them. But perhaps this contrast is not as sharp as at first sight it may seem. Energy, will, concentration, and flaming purpose have wrought miracles in the past, and may work miracles again. Chandragupta and Shih Huang Ti built great empires: Mussolini and Hitler have not yet been defeated in the pursuit of similar ambitions.

THE AWAKENING OF THE NEAR EAST

BY BAYARD DODGE
American University of Beirut

THE STAGE, upon which the drama of civilization was first enacted, was the Near East. During the dark period, when Europe and North Africa were overrun by barbarian tribes and Rome itself was sacked, the Near East remained the center of a highly developed culture.

The Muslims carried on the work which their Greek and Roman predecessors had begun. An active intellectual life bloomed at Baghdad under the patronage of Harūn al-Rashīd and his son, al-Ma'mūn. Many famous Greek and Persian books were translated. Architecture and masonry, the fine arts and ancient music, poetry and theology flourished. Mathematics, alchemy, astronomy, navigation and medicine made important progress.

Hospitals, libraries and universities grew to great proportions. Although many books have been lost, we have lists of the names of thousands of ancient scholars and the volumes which they wrote. Explorers went on distant journeys and wrote accounts of their travels with conscientious accurateness. Students of comparative religion wrote books on scores of different sects, and wealthy men sent their agents to foreign lands in order to carry on research.

Before steamships were invented and the Suez Canal was built, great caravans traveled back and forth across the deserts of Persia and Arabia, filling the lands with wealth as they passed and bringing new ideas with the goods that they carried.

Many a Christian crusader was surprised to find that the despised infidel was more cultured than the people of Europe. Contact with the Saracens was one reason for the Renaissance.

Like a flower, the culture of the Near East was destined to blossom and fade away. Wild hordes of Tartars rode across Asia from the plains of Mongolia. They swarmed over the great, intellectual centers of the Near East like clouds of locusts, leaving ruin in their wake. Genghis Kahn and his brother, Hulagu, destroyed the great empire of the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad, during the first half of the thirteenth century. At the end of the following century, Timur swept as far as the Hellespont, Aleppo, and Damascus. Carnage, destruction, and intellectual stagnation remained behind him.

It was during the closing years of the Ottoman Empire that an awakening began to be felt. Political exiles returned from enforced visits to European cities and brought back new ideas. Many foreign schools were permitted to teach modern science and western ideals of behavior.

As the Balkan States obtained independence, they allied themselves with Europe and exerted a strong influence on their neighbors to the East. In 1860, when Mount Lebanon was made a semi-autonomous province under the protection of the European powers, it became a center of intellectual growth. Egypt also made rapid progress after 1884, when Sir Evelyn Baring, or Lord Cromer, was appointed Consul General at Cairo.

During the Dark Ages stagnant Europe was awakened by influences that came from the Near East. In modern times the crushed intellectual life of the Near East is being revived by influences from Europe and America.

Since the Armistice this awakening process has become more rapid. The fleets of the Allies anchored at Constantinople. The British established mandates over Iraq, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan. They consolidated their control in Egypt, took definite charge of the Sudan and strengthened their influence in the Persian Gulf States. Even the Beduin of Najd and the Hijāz tasted the fruits of British gold during the war, and they had their eyes opened to the importance of modern machinery.

Four great personalities appeared in places of political power and set to work as agents of modern reform. Mustafa Kemal Pasha started to build up the new Turkey. His overthrow of the Caliphate, his organization of an independent republic, his substitution of modern law codes for the Islamic canon law, his liberation of women, and his adoption of the Latin alphabet and modern dress set the entire Near East to thinking.

With equal vigor and force of personality, the Shah of Persia has instituted similar reforms in his great country. Both rulers have encouraged railroad and highway construction and the Shah has obtained petroleum royalties, which assure the financial success of his administration.

King Faisal deserves to be called the "Father" of the new Iraq, because of his patient tact and loyal patriotism. As a stranger he came into a land that was devastated by war and rebellion, split by party strife, and lacking in leadership. At the time of his premature death, he left behind him a self-reliant state, with a hopeful economic outlook and a group of educated men to fill positions of responsibility.

The fourth dominant personality is Ibn Sa'ud. Like David of old, he was a political outcast. With dramatic daring he gathered together a small band of followers and seized his ancestral town in the uplands of eastern Arabia. Today he is the acknowledged ruler of all of Central Arabia.

No Beduin in his realm dares to steal. Pilgrims may travel in safety without fear of highwaymen. Automobiles convey the pilgrims from the seaport to Mecca and even across the rolling dunes between Najd and the Persian Gulf. On several occasions Dr. Dame of the American Mission at Bahrain has been invited to bring modern medical skill to the relatives and subjects of Ibn Sa'ud. Aeroplanes assure military stability. Over seventy new oases have been established and the roving Beduin taught how to settle down to peaceful pursuits.

When Ibn Sa'ud wished to introduce a telephone system, the Muslim ecclesiastics objected. He called a number of them to his presence. He asked each one of them to hold a receiver to his ear. By a prearranged plan, each shaykh heard the holy Qur'ān being chanted in a beautiful way. One after the other the ecclesiastics set down their receivers with pious ejaculations, saying that if God so willed the telephone might be set in use.

Not only have the states of the Near East been reorganized by new governments, both native and foreign, but they have also been closely bound together by new means of transport. Before the war an Emir of the Persian Bakhtiari tribe brought his son to enter school at Beirut. The journey required seven weeks. Today the same journey can be made by motor car in three days. I once asked a shaykh from the holy city of Najf how long it took to travel from his home to Baghdad. He replied, "Five days by camel and five hours by car."

The automobile is bringing isolated Beduin tribes and remote villages into contact with the cities. News is passed along by the chauffeurs, and newspapers are constantly being brought to the country districts. Peasants and even nomads find places on trucks and work their way to town, to see the sights. Poor country children dream about going to the cities and adopting modern customs.

The Beduin chiefs use cars for their raiding. The camel and the Arab mare are giving way to the motor truck and the touring car.

During the years after the war, when groups of foreign soldiers were quartered in almost every section of the Near East, the whole land was inoculated with a new attitude of mind. Schools have been started in hundreds of villages where there used to be total illiteracy. A surprisingly large number of foreign ships stop at the seaports, and a steady stream of European and American commercial travelers visit the important towns.

In the cities there are many cinema theaters, which show up-to-date news reels brought by air from Europe, as well as a great variety of dramatic films. It is interesting to sit in one of the theaters of Aleppo or Damascus and to see the faces of the peasants and swarthy Beduin as they watch the pictures and hear the sound of the "talkie." They have come from communities where a few years ago the conditions were just as they used to be when Saladin called his hosts to join the *jihād.* By magic they are plunged into the political turmoil of our day and bewitched by the manners and modes of Hollywood.

Rapid as the changes are among the poor peasants of the country districts, they are even more striking among the wealthier people of the towns.

One evening during the war time we loaned our University auditorium to a Muslim relief society. I shall never forget how surprised we were to see two hundred Muslim women enter the gallery with their veils thrown back. It was the first time that the Muhammadan women of the land had bared their faces in a public place. This innovation was due to a number of high-bred Turkish ladies who were sent to Syria to organize schools for girls. They were graduates of the Constantinople Woman's College and forerunners of the Turkish movement to emancipate women.

Ever since that time the women of the Near East have been gaining more and more freedom. In Turkey the process has been hastened by government action. In Cairo and Alexandria it has been helped by the European life of those large cities. Even in provincial districts the education of women, the throwing back of the veil, the mixing of the sexes in cinema halls, and the employment of women in commerce are becoming commonplace affairs.

Before the war a girl was ashamed to be thin, as only a fat girl was considered beautiful. The Muslims wore veils and the Christians scarfs, instead of hats. Women avoided bodily exercise, assumed lazy habits, and wore loose-fitting clothes. Today the girls and many of the older women are dressed in the most up-to-date and tight-fitting Paris fashions, with bobbed hair, painted lips, and tilted hats. What is much more important, they ride about in cars, take their recreation with the men in public places, enjoy out-of-door sports, read the newspapers, and go on journeys. Most of the Lebanon summer resorts and many of the large towns hold beauty contests for the society girls. Last summer a Muslim girl was chosen to be "Miss Lebanon."

The present generation in the Near East is bridging the gulf between the feudalism and conservatism of the Middle Ages and the ultra-modern ideas of our own time. It is a common sight to see Beduin tents pitched alongside of luxurious summer hotels or the modern apartment houses on the border of some city. Parish priests and Muslim ecclesiastics marry in the East. It is a common thing for their sons to complete some scientific course. As the boys return home, imagine the conflict of ideas between them and their parents, for the doctrines of the Oriental Churches and formal Islam have scarcely changed for centuries.

Unfortunately modern customs have brought in the evil with the good. What is true of immigrant children in our American cities is equally true of the modernized children of the East. They have lost their ancestral traditions. They have been hypnotized by the blatant exterior of western civilization. They have failed to find new traditions and moral standards. They have equally failed to understand the elements, which have made our occidental culture great.

There has always been plenty of immorality in the East, but never before have the people of the Southern Levant been exploited by public forms of commercialized vice. It is not an uncommon thing for a Muslim parent to say, "If my boy is going to college at Beirut, please make sure that he is kept away from evil Christian influences." Of course the parent refers to the "artistes" in public dance halls, lax forms of cabaret entertainment, liquor drinking, betting at horse races, gambling with cards, and legalized prostitution. These things have come with Christian civilization. Gambling, drinking, and public prostitution are relentlessly condemned in the Qur'an.

At the time of Christ, Latin was the language of the government officials, Aramaic was the dialect of the uneducated, and Greek was the popular tongue of the society people. History is repeating itself. In large sections of the Near East today, English is the official tongue, Arabic is the dialect of the masses, and French is the popular language for social purposes. Many educated men and women cannot speak and write literary Arabic. They are losing the culture of their fathers and saturating their minds with European ideas. But they fail to appreciate the beauty of European art, philosophy, music, and literature. Their culture is that of the newspapers and the cinemas.

Conservative forms of religion are giving way to unbelief, on the one hand, and to political sect propaganda, on the other. The Mayor of Tel Aviv told me that a strict old Jew was walking along a street on a Sabbath afternoon. He met a modern young Jewish colonist, who was coming out of a cinema theater, dressed in shorts and smoking a cigarette. He asked him in Yiddish if he was not ashamed of himself for breaking the Sabbath. The young man replied in his revived national tongue, "Please speak in Hebrew, I do not understand Yiddish." For the rising generation the Hebrew language, as a symbol of nationalism, means more than do the Ten Commandments.

In Lebanon the Muslim boys and girls are growing very lax about praying, attending the Friday mosque services, keeping Ramadan, going on pilgrimages, and learning the Qur'an. On the other hand, they support an enthusiastic Scout movement and a group of well-conducted schools, which propagate loyalty to Islam as a political and social force.

Modern scientific ideas are capturing the minds of growing boys and girls so that they are breaking away from ancient forms of religion and casting about for something that is in keeping with their new ideas. In the American University of Beirut, for instance, social service is becoming more and more popular as a practical form of spiritual expression.

Last spring the undergraduates contributed generously to support village welfare work. Three groups of teachers and students gave up large portions of their summer vacations, in order to carry on recreational work, preventive medicine, hygiene, home building, and village improvement.

The authorities of the ancient Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch and the East appreciate the fact that the youth of the land is growing away from the clergy. In order to train priests of a more modern type, the archbishops have asked the American University of Beirut to cooperate with them. Candidates for the priesthood are to receive a cultural course in the University, at the same time that they sleep at a near-by monastery and receive ecclesiastical instruction from a representative of the Church.

The awakening in the Near East has been so sudden and yet so thorough, that the intellectual and spiritual problems, which trouble the young men and women of the Orient are almost identical with those, which confront the rising generation in the West.

Rightly or wrongly, the people feel that the only way to adapt themselves to the new situation is by means of education. There is an almost incredible demand for education of all kinds. Before he died, King Faisal of Iraq said, "We wish to create a new generation, but we cannot create a new generation if the majority is illiterate."

The motives which create this demand for education may be explained in the following way.

In the first place, parents see the old feudal aristocracy going into decay and realize that social position will hereafter depend upon education rather than upon heredity.

In the second place, uneducated men and women have been unable to find work, whereas even the sons of refugees, who have been educated, have been able to procure positions.

In the third place, the overthrow of the Caliphate and the conquest of large portions of the Near East by foreign powers make the people realize that it is science and organization, rather than religious prestige, which determine the power of a modern state.

Fourthly, people know that they cannot compete with other nations in the realms of industry, commerce, medicine, engineering, warfare, and agriculture, unless they have trained specialists to guide them.

Lastly, parents realize that their children are doomed to drift away from the doctrines and traditions of the past, so that they are anxious to have them trained to understand the new thought and culture of the modern world.

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A number of the Near Eastern states have wisely developed elementary and practical forms of education more rapidly than professional work. In other states the government agencies have encouraged forms of higher education to such an extent that it is already difficult for lycée graduates to find positions.

The governments of Palestine, Iraq, and the Sudan are earnestly trying to use education to strengthen peasant life so as to avoid overcrowding in the cities and the creation of an unemployed intellectual class.

The Near East Foundation is guided by a similar policy. In Albania and Lebanon the Foundation is conducting farm schools in cooperation with the governments. In Macedonia it is teaching peasants of over fifty villages how to order their life-work in a wholesome and successful way. In Palestine the government department of Education and the Foundation are working together to train village school masters how to teach agriculture and how to make peasant life attractive.

There will always be a tremendous need for such practical forms of education. There will be an equally important need for a limited number of leaders, trained in a very thorough way. But higher education must be carried on in a wise manner or else it will create a class of half-trained men and women, whose veneering of European culture will render them too proud to do useful work and liable to become political agitators.

If American education is to be carried on in the Near East, it should either aim to help the peasants, as the Near East Foundation is doing, or else it should attempt to train the characters and minds of a limited number of leaders, who thoroughly understand the underlying meaning of our occidental, Christian civilization.

For many years western education was conducted under the protection of the capitulations, in defiance of, rather than in cooperation with the government authorities. This policy is not in keeping with the spirit of our modern age. To be a valuable force, education must identify itself with the spontaneous life of the states, which have been aroused to a new spirit of national reconstruction.

It is equally true that foreign education should not try to force a purely exotic culture upon the children of a land, but should aim to help them to develop their own national culture. The educated Oriental must know one or two foreign languages so as to be able to read European journals and scientific books. On the other hand, it is important that he should first of all learn how to think and feel and act in his own tongue. In a recent address before the Royal Central Asian Society, Professor Gibb of the London School of Oriental Studies said: "If personality is to be truly creative, it must be rooted in the indigenous culture."

He went on to say about education that: "The crux of the problem, after all, is not the release of individuality — for almost any kind of modern education in the Muslim countries will do that, under present circumstances — but the creation of social personality; for this purpose nothing short of the strongest moral anchorage will do. Without it you can get only the unsocial individual, the destroyer, not the creator, of civilization."

For centuries education in the Near East has been used as a means of propaganda. As schools have been conducted by ecclesiastical agencies, they have formed strong party feeling and sectarian prejudice, rather than moral character and national unity.

After generations of war and despotism, it is inevitable that the greatest weakness of the people of the Near East should be an inability to cooperate together in commerce, in philanthropy, in intellectual effort, and in national life. Young men and women grow up without a feeling of civic responsibility. To too great an extent everyone looks after his own interests. This attitude of mind causes a lack of confidence and good citizenship, which are being intensified by the post-war extravagance and license.

As they are aware of these sources of weakness, parents are even more interested in character building than they are in mental development. Moreover, whenever the head of a business firm or government department thinks of employing a university graduate, he is sure to ask many more questions about the honesty, moral habits and cooperative spirit of the candidate than about his efficiency.

As a group of small states are emerging from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the only hope of progress is based upon education. It must be an education which unites, rather than divides; an education that develops national culture, at the same time that it introduces scientific and technical knowledge; an education which provides honesty and morality of character as a foundation for life: an education which inspires the youth of the land with a desire for social responsibility and good citizenship.

As the rising generation in the Near East is called upon to adapt itself to a situation that is filled with such possibilty, as well as with so much danger, it is essential that there should be no failure. The future of the world as a whole will be greatly affected by what takes place in Turkey and the Arab lands.

The Near East is the borderland between Europe and the vast inland districts of Asia. The people of the Near East must interpret the ideas of the west to Asia, and the ideas of the Orient to Europe. The political and commercial activities, as well as the religious and social reactions of the world, meet each other at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

After lying dormant for centuries, the Near East has awakened. It is passing through a period of such rapid change that the people are utterly bewildered. It is a situation that may result either in a renaissance of enlightenment and international progress, or else in a chaos of chauvinism and unbelief.

Unless the people can receive the right kind of education, and be sure of a constructive leadership, they will fail to understand modern life and will misinterpret it to their neighbors in Central Asia. It is a glorious thing when a renaissance movement starts to enliven the world's progress, but when such an awakening does take place, Mr. Wells' description of history becomes true, it is "a race between education and catastrophe."

CHINA REVIVES CONFUCIANISM

BY CYRUS H. PEAKE

SINCE the day, four years ago, on which the Japanese began the military occupation of Manchuria which led to the establishment of "Manchoutikuo," a series of significant developments have occurred in China which reveal a conscious effort on the part of the government to revive Confucianism. In the spring of 1934 General Chiang Kai-shek launched the "New Life Movement" aiming at the moral regeneration of the Chinese people and their leaders. It emphasizes the traditional Confucian virtues of *li, i, lien,* and *chih,* which may roughly be rendered—proper decorum, righteous conduct, honesty, and self-respect. A code of ninety-six articles was promulgated regulating individual and social conduct. It is believed that the proper observance of these simple rules of daily conduct will give expression in accordance with Confucian tradition, to the corresponding inner virtues of honesty, integrity, loyalty, and self-respect.

A few months later, the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang decided to include the birthday of Confucius in the list of the national holidays of China. As a consequence Confucian temples in various parts of the country are being refurbished, and on the birthday of the Sage, proper ceremonies are to be there conducted by the local officials in the time-honored manner. Last August high officials representing the National Government traveled from Nanking to Chü-fu in Shantung, where the direct lineal descendants of Confucius now live, to conduct ceremonies at the temple erected to his memory. The government has appropriated a considerable sum of money to be devoted to the renovation of this temple and its surrounding grounds.

The drift toward the establishment of Confucianism as a state cult can also be seen in the new title given the eldest living male descendant of Confucius. In the early part of the present year it was decided to change his title from that of "Duke of Extended Sagehood," conferred in 1233, to "Sacrificial Official for the Late Teacher." Thus the old title reminiscent of the monarchy and aristocracy was abolished as not being in harmony with the spirit of a republican regime, and at the same time the new title conferred reveals the close connection with the reviving cult to the government. Further evidence of the trend toward reverence of the past took place in April of this year when three government leaders representing the Kuomintang and the national government visited the alleged tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, the mythological founder of Chinese civilization. There they conducted ceremonies followed by the placing of wreaths upon the tomb. A few days later these same officials visited the nearby tombs of ancient kings of the Chou dynasty (1122-249 B. C.) and performed similar ceremonies.

Another indication of the drift of the times in China is the increased interest in the Confucian classics. Conservative groups, who have been advocating the replacement of the classics in the school curricula are in some parts of the country achieving their purpose. In the provinces of Hunan and Kuangtung the simpler classics are now being taught in the primary schools.

The loosely coordinated movement to revive Confucianism indicated in these events is essentially conservative, if not reactionary. It springs immediately out of the loss of Manchuria. This major political catastrophe appears to have ushered in a new period in China's political and national development. The failure of the Western powers and the League of Nations to stem Japan's aggressions has induced a psychological change in the outlook of Chinese leaders. The belief that they must rely more upon their own resources, spiritual as well as material to regenerate their nation morally and physically finds repeated expression in leading editorials and in the speeches of leaders in various walks of life. The emphasis now is on "Reconstruction" and "Regeneration" through a slow building up from within. Movements and programs designed to achieve these aims seek broad popular and local support essential to success in the highly integrated and traditionally localized Chinese society.

China's foreign policy since the Mukden incident has likewise undergone a marked change. Whereas before 1931 under the Nationalist Kuomintang government, a policy of "revolutionary diplomacy" was carried through in a highly charged anti-foreign atmosphere, since that time practically all overt mass opposition to foreign imperialism has disappeared. This is not to be interpreted to mean that the government nor the vocal elements of the populace are resigned to the loss of Manchuria, nor that they have abandoned all efforts to recover sovereign rights relinquished in the series of "unequal" treaties and agreements signed in the course of the past century. Only the methods have changed. The anti-foreignism engendered through textbooks, periodicals, and the platform coupled with the "revolutionary diplomacy" of the 1927-to-1931 period is now understood as being a prime factor in initiating the series of events which led to the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese forces. Likewise the half-hearted attempts of certain great powers having vital interests in China to stem Japan's advance is attributed to the influence of certain governmental and business groups in those countries who believed that Japan in curbing the excesses of the Chinese nationalists was fighting their battle as well, by putting off to a still more distant future the time when they must give up their special privileges in China.

Hence necessity has dictated a change of policy. Stunned by Japan's drastic action and forced upon imminent threat of further territorial losses, the Nanking government has forsaken "revolutionary diplomacy" based on a negative anti-foreign type of nationalism. Open student demonstrations have been almost wholly suppressed or driven underground, and the boycott of Japanese goods has been on the whole effectively curbed. The easy successes of Japanese armies on Chinese soil has poignantly impressed on the leaders of China the weakness which still afflicts the state from a political and military point of view. This weakness they perceive arises from two sources, the one of a spiritual or moral character resulting in lack of political unity and the other of a material or economic character which limits the military strength of the nation. Until these two basic weaknesses are eliminated the nation must abandon hope of attaining full national sovereignty and the recovery of lost territory. This may take a generation or fifty years they realistically assert, but like the ancient Chinese worthy who slept on his mat for ten years to remind himself that he must return and recover his lost territory, they assert they will not lose sight of their ultimate goal.

In order to build up the economic strength of the country, the government has within the last few years launched upon an extensive and elaborate program of economic reconstruction. The problem of improved communications still remains uppermost. Some railroad building has been undertaken, but more energy has been expended in auto road construction, the amount of mileage of which has increased several fold in recent years. Agricultural rehabilitation has been receiving more attention in the last few years than ever before. Rural credit societies and marketing and purchasing cooperatives are being organized. In the industrial field the National government plans through the recently acquired control over the tariff to protect home industry as well as to foster it through direct subsidies. Likewise, through national bureaus for testing and grading, it is planned to improve and produce uniform tea, silk, and other commodity exports to accelerate foreign-trade expansion. In these and other ways the government is striving to achieve economic reconstruction as a prelude to the establishment of a strong state capable of recovering its full administrative and territorial sovereignty.

In a country which for centuries has been under the all-pervading influence of Confucian moral concepts the belief persists that programs for material reconstruction will be of little avail if there is not accompanying moral regeneration. Before attempting to set forth in more detail the factors which gave rise to the present Confucian revival and to evaluate its strength and nature, it would be well first to trace briefly the cause of the decline of Confucianism under the Republic. With the establishment of the Republic in 1912 the classics were eliminated from the curricula of the schools and, except for a brief attempt at a revival of Confucianism under President Yuan Shih-k'ai in the years 1913-1916, the attack upon the cult by the modernized and nationalistic intellectuals and students has had increasing success until the current revival set in last year. There are three outstanding reasons for this abandonment of Confucianism. In the first place, its long association with the monarchy and its emphasis upon loyalty to the emperor made its persistence under a republican regime appear highly anarchronistic. Moreover, the factions favoring the retention of its teachings were monarchists at heart as revealed in the efforts to place Yuan Shi-k'ai upon the throne. Secondly, it was the formalized embodiment of all that was held to be conservative and, therefore, an obstacle to the modernization of the state, particularly in its emphasis upon respect for elders, and the necessity for maintaining the all-embracing authoritarian family-system sustained by ancestor worship. From this angle it was seen as a restraining force preventing the citizens of the new republic from giving their fullest loyalty to the state in patriotic service because of prior allegiance to and dependence upon the family. It was held, therefore, to be a hindrance to the spread of modern nationalism which the awakened intellectuals had discovered in the west and which they were more or less consciously imitating and fostering. Finally, those who had drunk deeply from the wells of western science and rationalism dubbed it another religion to be abolished, along with Buddhism and Christianity, as outmoded superstitions suited to a less advanced stage of social advancement than at present exists. As Ch'en Tu-hsiu, one of the outstanding leaders of young China and a founder of the first Communist party expressed it, "That which makes the people of Europe actually superior to all nations is their positive science. Science and reason have made an end to ignorance and superstition." The decline of Confucianism was held to be a necessary prelude to the establishment of a modernized nationalistic state capable of claiming and securing utmost loyalty from all its members.

These three points of criticism explain in part the development of one of the more striking paradoxes of the modernization of China: a gradually expanding and intensifying nationalism in conflict with a people's idealized and formalized social and intellectual heritage. In the haste to modernize—a haste forced upon them by the repeated aggressions of the Western powers and Japan which threatened the very existence of the state itself as a territorial unit—the modern Chinese have in the confusion and bewilderment of a revolutionary period sought to uproot their old culture and commence *de novo*. That they, one of the most historically conscious of all peoples, suddenly appeared to be deaf to all the lessons of history only serves to heighten the piquancy of the paradox. The intellectual and educational leaders uncritically and naïvely hoped to create within a generation the western ideal of an individualized body of citizens living in and effectively running a modern democratic state. Faith in the old culture thoroughly shattered, they attempted through the literal translation of western studies and textbooks on political theory and civics to create this modern type of citizen through an expanding modern educational system. They felt they had found an adequate cohesive substitute for Confucianism in the attempted formation of a body of democratic, individualized citizens who would be supremely loyal to the political state.

Before, however, the new experiment was allowed even a fair amount of time to work itself out, the inevitable foreign aggressions upon the weak and divided nation were renewed. This time foreign interference resulted in the massacre of students and civilians in

Shanghai, Canton, and elsewhere in May and June 1925. Immediately there appeared a violent form of anti-foreign nationalism which denounced on the one hand the imperialistic powers and on the other the excessive westernization, particularly of the educational system. The appeal of the conservatives to call a halt to revolutionary efforts at modernization was not to be heeded at this time. The Kuomintang party which for years had been restricted to a minor political role at Canton gathered strength, through Communist guidance, from the tide of anti-foreignism sweeping the country. In the summer of 1926 the party launched its northern campaign to wrest the country from the grasp of the oppressive war-lords and to free it from the control of the imperialistic powers. Its relatively well-trained military force, ably supported by an effective propaganda technique which broadcast its aims widely over the land, accounted for the striking success of the northern drive. In the spring of 1927 the capital of the Nationalist Government was set up in Nanking and with the fall of Peking a year later, control over a greater part of the country has been achieved.

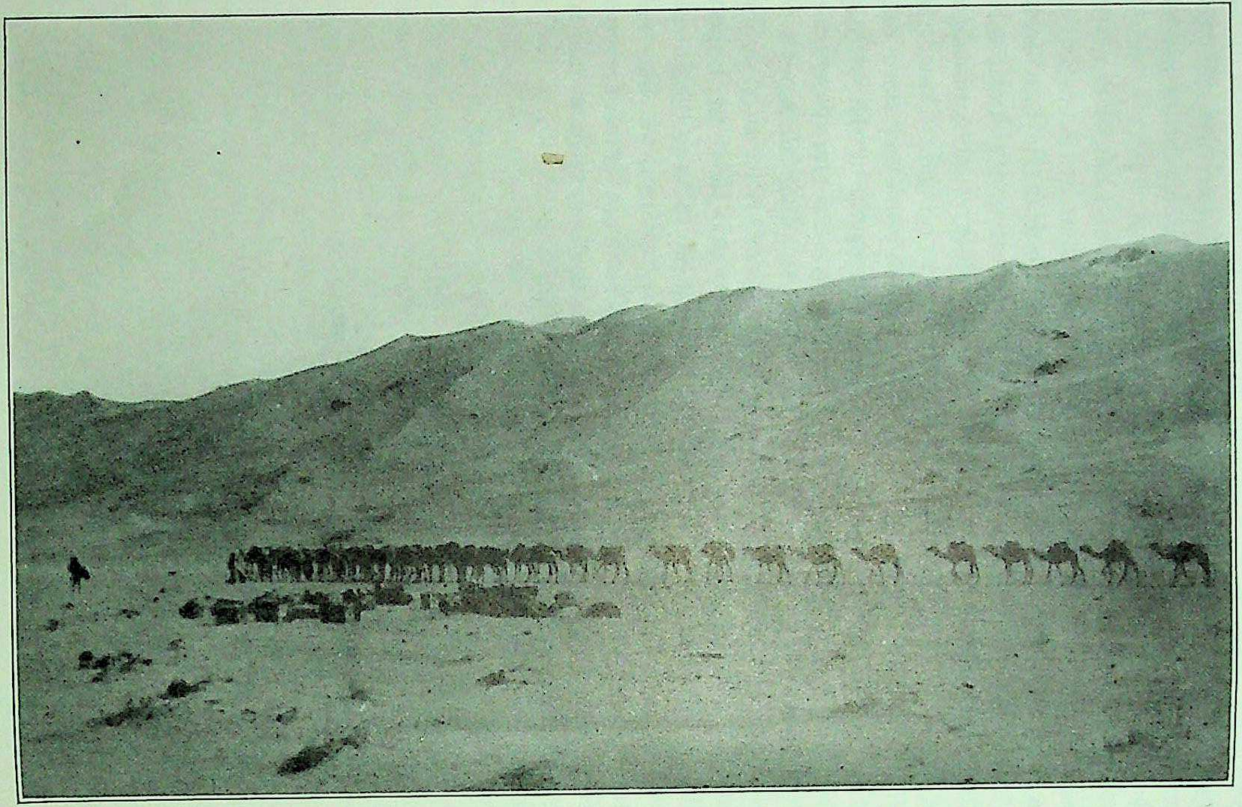
Once seated in power a rapid move toward the right occurred within the party and the government. The communists were driven from the party, and one military campaign after another was launched to overthrow the successive communistic regimes set up in various localized areas. The government turned toward the landlords and the rising industrial and financial bourgeoisie for financial support. In order to win their confidence, it not only combatted the communist movement, but also suppressed and regulated the labor unions and the student movement. Time was needed to consolidate its position and to extend its more effective control over the country. Nevertheless, the waves of revolutionary emotionalism and anti-foreignism which the party had consciously fostered and upon which it rode into power continued to sweep through the land. The local Kuomintang headquarters not being under the effective disciplinary control of the Central Executive Committee continued to agitate for the recovery of national rights. In Manchuria they were particularly effective in promoting a policy designed to thwart Japanese efforts to consolidate and expand their economic control over the area. Hence arose the series of incidents which finally culminated in the occupation of the area by Japanese forces and the subsequent establishment of "Manchoutikuo."

The shock of these developments brought the inevitable reaction and the heeding of more conservative counsels with the rapid decline of the revolutionary spirit. In this atmosphere the loosely coordinated efforts at the revival of Confucianism have taken place. They were designed to restore to the people confidence in their own cultural heritage and through that in their racial and political destiny. While the New Life Movement has not yet identified itself formally with the term Confucianism its emphasis and spirit is essentially in harmony with the basic concepts which cluster around the word. Other governmental measures already taken are a further and more positive indication of the drift of the times toward a Confucian revival.

It is of course at this time impossible to foretell how far or how long the movement will continue to grow. There may be only a brief interlude before another period of revolutionary activity sweeps the country submerging the remaining vestiges of the old culture and carrying the nation further along the way toward modernization. As long as the present political set-up, characterized by Japan's hegemony, persists in Eastern Asia, one can predict with considerable assurance that the movement for the revival of the old moral culture will continue to grow in strength. The steps taken to establish the state of "Manchoutikuo" on the Confucian principles embodied in the term *Wang Tao* or "Kingly Way" under Japanese guidance is a clue to this possibility. There the official revival of a modified Confucian cult has become a well-established fact. Moral teachings drawn from the Classics have found their way into the class-rooms of the expanding educational system.

In Japan itself, Confucian teachings have been retained in the schools throughout the period of modernization and industrialization. Japanese leaders attribute the strength of the Empire in part at least to it. The lessons to be learned from their neighbor's striking success in meeting the West on its own terms and still retaining the essence of their own peculiar cultural heritage, which in large measure they had centuries earlier inherited from China, has not been entirely overlooked by the Chinese. The first modern system of education adopted under the Empire in 1903 was modelled upon the one then in vogue in Japan. The study of the Confucian classics found an important place in that system. The elimination of the classics from the school system since the establishment of the Republic caused one writer to lament the fact that "what was cast out as stone in China was retained as jade in Japan." Many conservatives in China have attributed the country's weakness from a political and military point of view as well as the moral degeneration of the people to the abandonment of the nation's cultural heritage. For the time at least, the warnings of the conservatives are being heeded and their advice is beginning to be carried out.

Finally, the attempt to appraise the strength and longevity of the present revival of Confucianism necessitates the consideration of factors operating in countries outside of the Far East. World tendencies at present toward national economic and cultural self-sufficiency sustained by an intense form of integrated nationalism lend further strength to the reaction now prevailing in China. In 1840 China's door was forced open by British guns and since that date it has remained open, partly by force and partly by the wish of the Chinese themselves, not only to western and Japanese commercial and financial exploitation, but also to admit all aspects of western thought and practice. Now the door is closing again. China like many another nation is seeking to pull itself up largely by its own bootstraps. The answer to the question as to the future of the present tendencies toward a Confucian revival, like the answer to many another question as to the future course of events in China, is to be found nearly as much in the course of events in the world at large as in China itself.



Photographs by A. R. M. Rickards

CAMEL CARAVAN NEAR WADI BEIHAN

RACIAL TYPES FROM SOUTH ARABIA

BY HENRY FIELD

Assistant Curator, Field Museum of Natural History.

THE PHYSICAL characters of the South Arabs reveal the fact that they are remarkably different from the northern Arabs. Extremely round-headed, the South Arab has a small brain capacity; his hair is fuzzy and on face and body may be almost absent. The skin color is often dark and swarthy.

The North Arab, on the other hand, is long-headed, of lighter complexion and possesses dark brown hair with low waves. The great desert of Rub'al Khali serves as a formidable geographic barrier to prevent migrations. Between the North and the South Arab there has thus been little racial admixture in recent times.

Racial affinities of the South Arab lie in northeast Africa; a Negroid strain occurs in the belt from Africa through South Arabia to Melanesia, including the Dravidians of southern India. Inferences of these relationships may be drawn from photographs of racial types in South Arabia. Several years ago Mr. A. R. M. Rickards journeyed to Nisab, one of the larger Aulaqi towns, and along the Wadi Beihan, taking a number of photographs of the people he encountered. Through his general coöperation a series of his pictures illustrates these brief notes.[1] The photographs of the men from Dhufar and the Wadi Beihan show remarkable variations in physical type. Differences between the inhabitants of North and South Arabia can readily be seen when these photographs are compared to those of the Arabs and Beduins of Iraq.[2] Bertram Thomas has measured and photographed a small number of South Arab tribesmen.[3] In the near future we can expect to see the publica-

CAMEL CARAVAN NEAR WADI BEIHAN

Photographs by A. R. M. Rickards

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[1] For further details see "The Ancient and Modern Inhabitants of Arabia," The *Open Court,* Vol. XLIV, No. 919, December, 1932, pp. 847-871.

[2] See "Arabs of Central Iraq, their History, Ethnology and Physical Characters," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist.,* Anthr. Mem., Vol. IV, Chicago, 1935.

[3] See *Arabia Felix,* New York, 1932. Especially Appendix 1, "The Racial Characters of the Southern Arabs" by Sir Arthur Keith and W. M. Krogman; also other publications by Thomas.

tion of anthropometric data from the Yemen obtained during 1934 by Carleton Coon.[4] The early history of the human occupation of Arabia [5] still remains little known, and at present there are no data available regarding the physical characters of the aboriginal inhabitants of Central and South Arabia.

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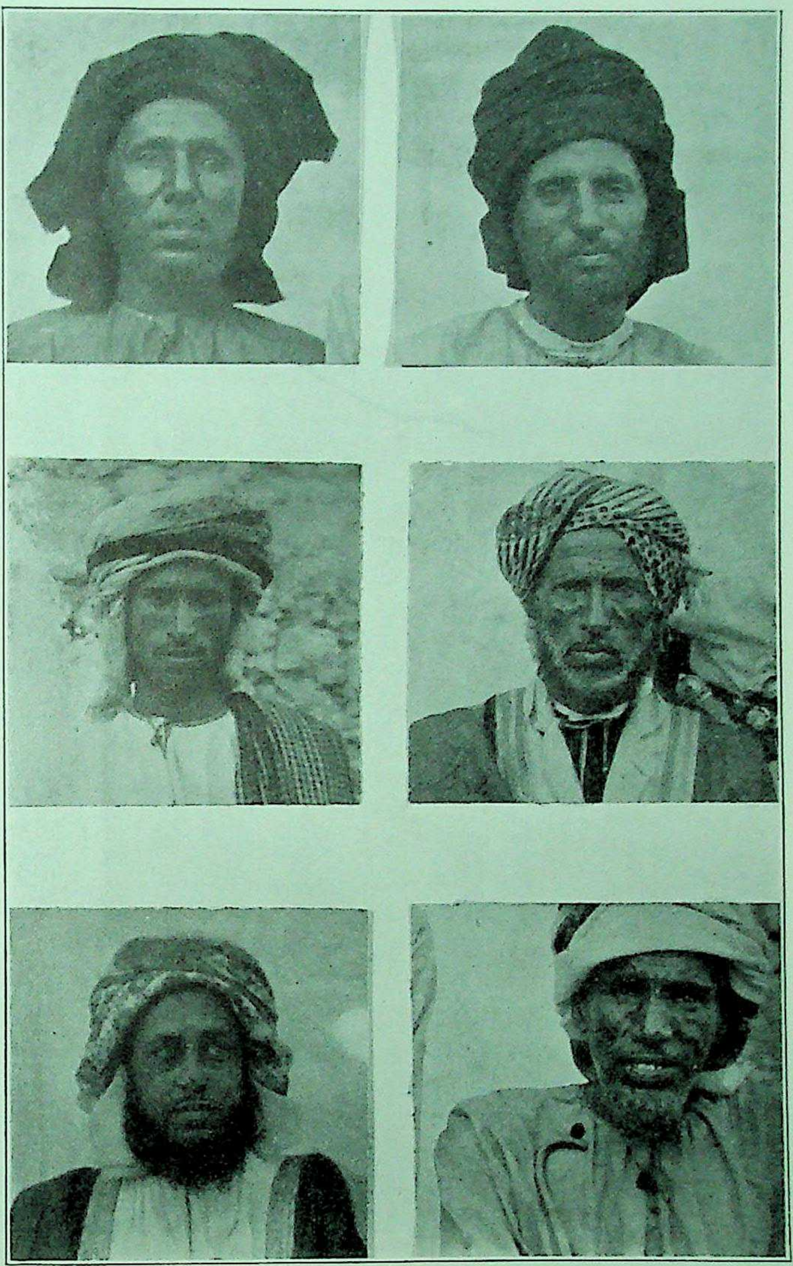
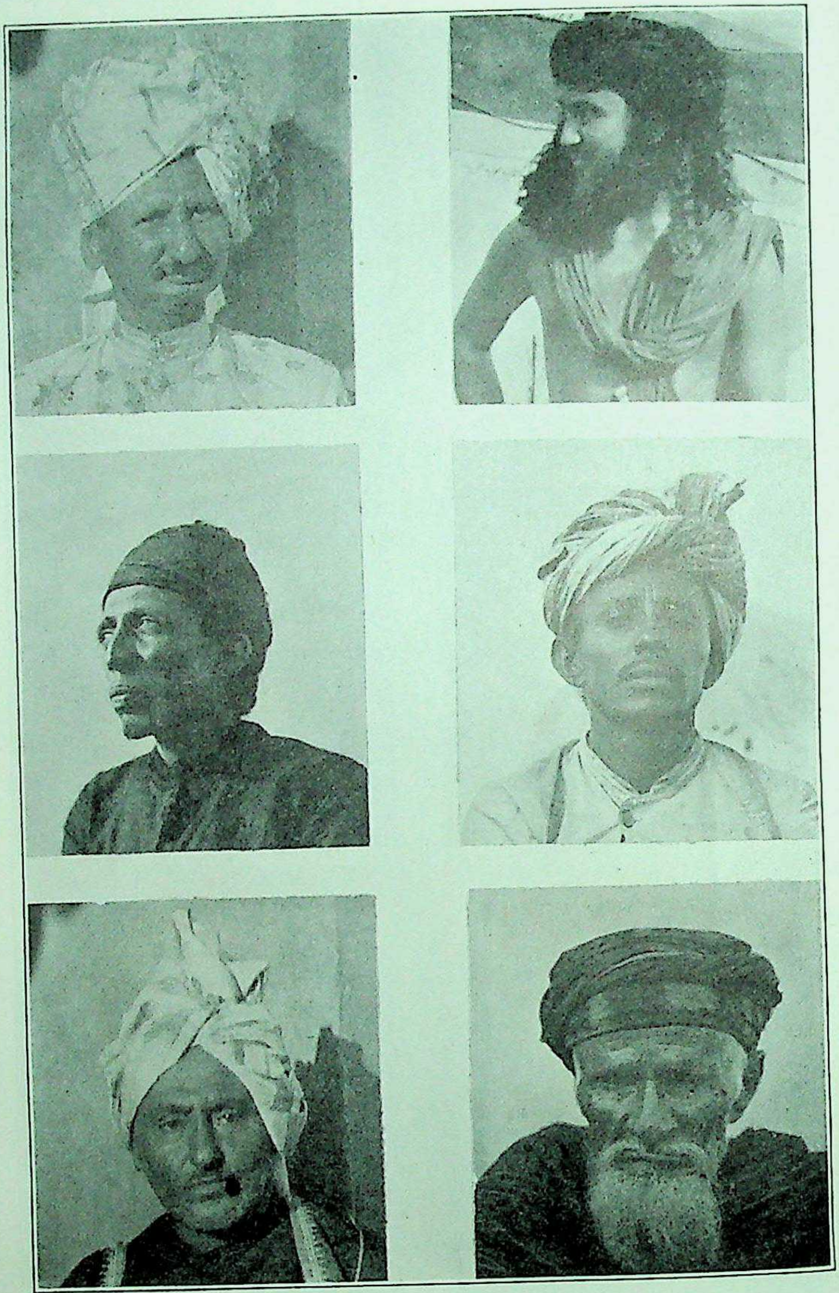
[4] See *Measuring Ethiopia,* Boston, 1935.

[5] See "The Antiquity of Man in Southwestern Asia," *Amer. Anthr.*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, January-March, 1933, pp. 51-62. Also "Early Man in North Arabia," *Natural History,* No. 1, 1929, pp. 33-44.



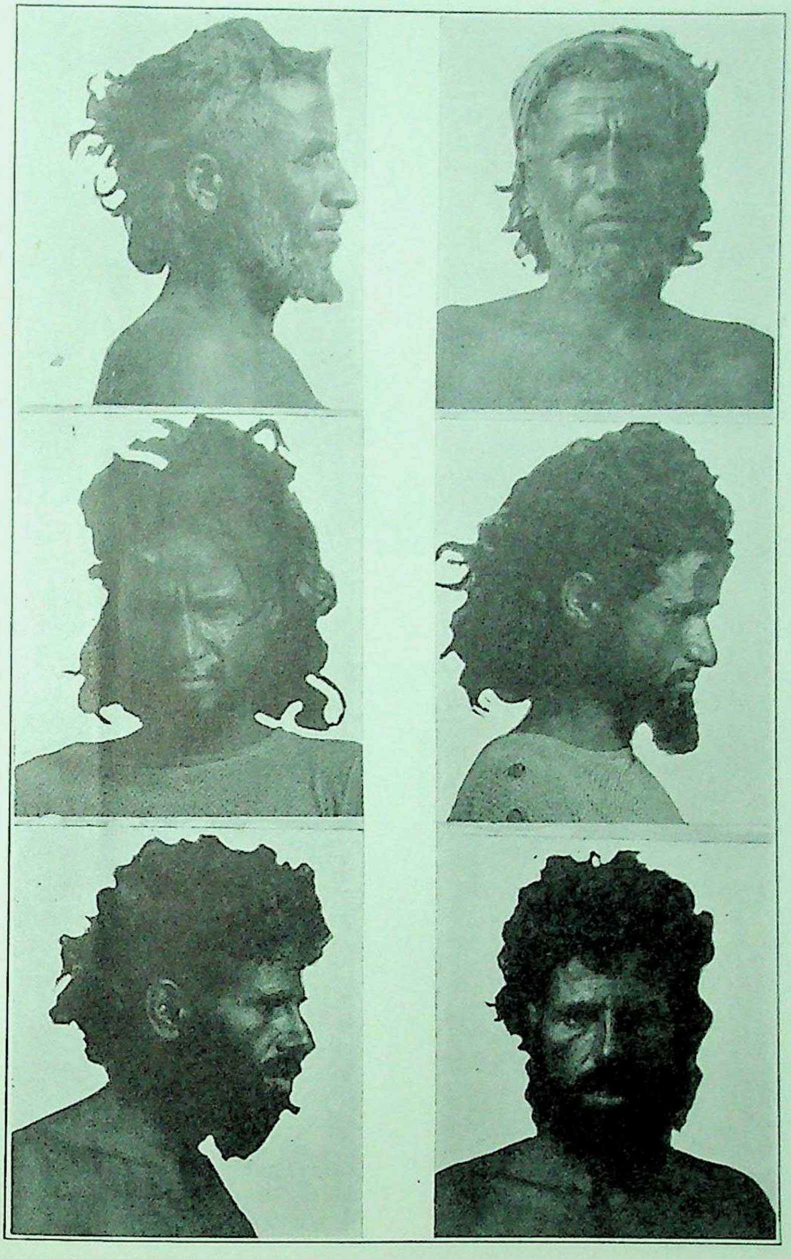
Photographs by A. R. M. Rickards

TYPES FROM DHUFAR



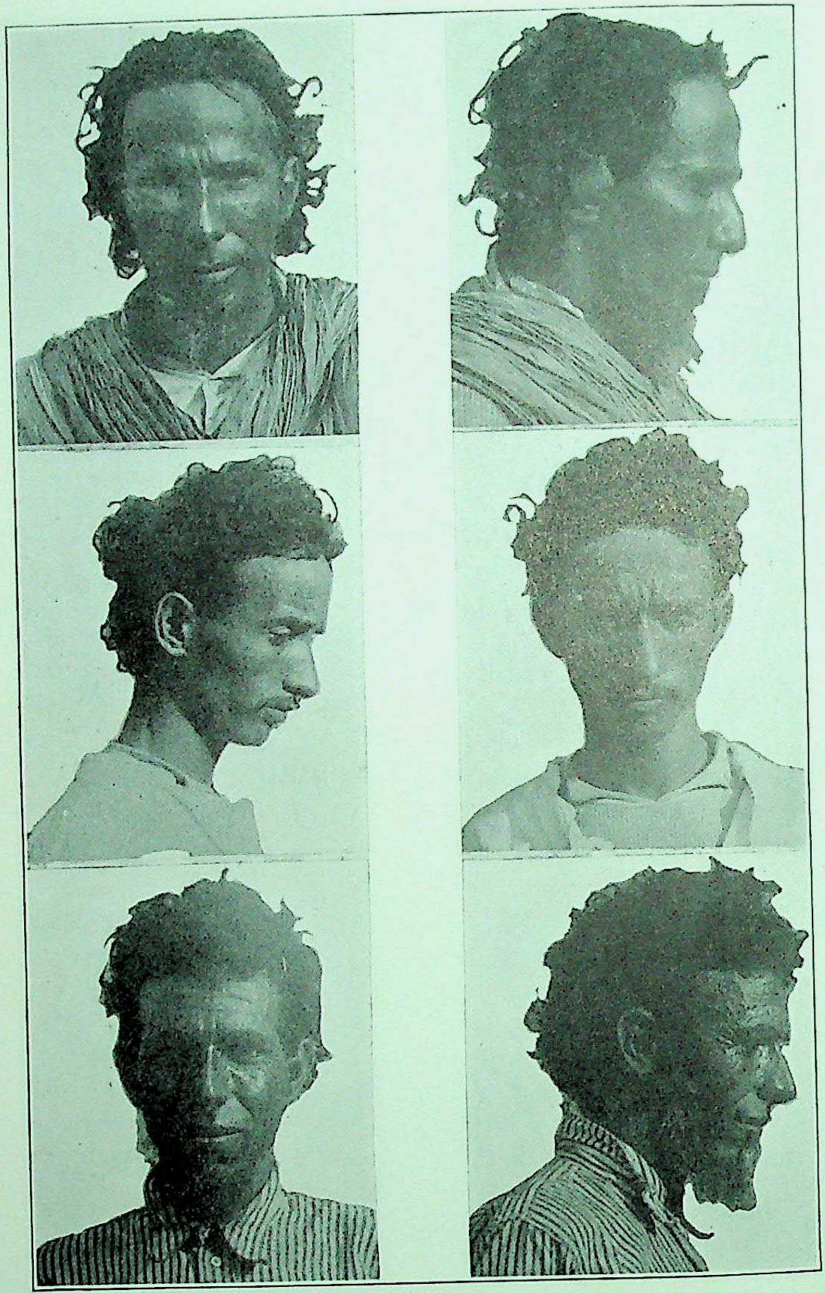
Photographs by A. R. M. Rickards

TYPES FROM DHUFAR



Photographs by A. R. M. Rickards

MUS‘ABI TRIBESMEN, SUB-TRIBE, FATIMA



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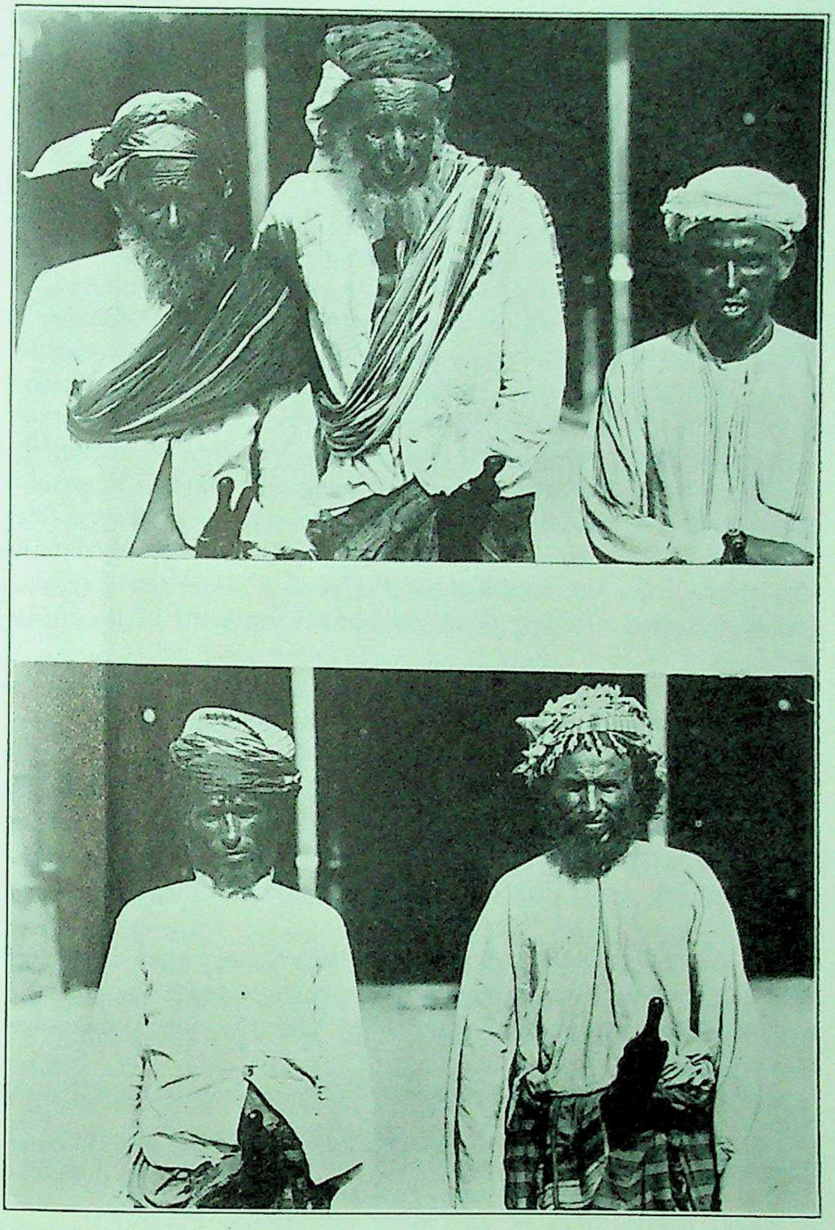
HARITH TRIBESMEN, BEIHAN EL QASAB



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HARITH TRIBESMEN, NORTH OF WADI BEIHAN

THE DRAMAS OF THE BIBLE

BY A. P. DRUCKER

THE STATEMENT that there are dramas in the Bible will probably surprise many of my readers. This surprise is due to various reasons. First of these is the widely prevailing idea that the drama originated in Greece, and that no other nation of antiquity cultivated it; hence, of course, the Hebrews could boast of no such art. We hear on the other hand, the assertion repeatedly made that the Semites especially had no dramatic genius.[1] Now, the drama was by no means confined to the Greeks. We find it among the Hindus, where Vishnu is the hero of many old plays.[2] We find it also among the Chinese, where the Dragon-god is made the chief character of a drama in which he is represented as driving out the evil spirits from the dwellings of the godly.[3] And the Japanese, too, have a drama, telling of the valiant achievements of their Sun-god.[4]

We thus see that the drama was not confined to the Greek; on the other hand, not only do we encounter it among the semi-civilized peoples, but also among barbarians and savages, who, as soon as they attain to a religious consciousness, have their ceremonies incorporated into dramatic performances.[5] The Indian war-dances, the snake- and other animal-dances, are known to all; but these are really nothing more than dramatic presentations of religious ceremonies.[6]

The Australians had a drama long before the whites discovered them.[7] They perform an historical drama to appease the gods for a murder committed in the neighborhood when the killer is unknown.

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[1] Rev. S. B. Driver in the *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.*

[2] A. A. Macdonnell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 347. Also A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. V.

[3] H. A. Giles, *History of Chinese Literature*, p. 257.

[4] Felix Rigany, *Japan in Art.* B. H. Chamberlain, *Cornhill Magazine*, 1895.

[5] E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology.*

[6] D. G. Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist.*

[7] Spencer and Gillen, *The Tribes of Central Australia.*

Under such conditions, a party of six men is sent out to find the mysterious murderer. Five of these men are painted elaborately with various designs. They carry with them all kinds of arms. A place is prepared for them away from the village, but where many spectators can come out to see the performance. When these men reach the appointed place, they start a certain war dance. After exhausting himself by dancing, each lies down on the ground in a place as small as possible, which was prepared for him. Each covers himself with his shield. After a little while an old man suddenly appears from nowhere, armed only with a club. He wanders along for some time cautiously as though he were looking for the tracks of some people or animals. When his back is turned the five men, who have by this time risen from the ground, steal up behind him cautiously. Abruptly he turns and catches sight of the men who are about to kill him; a mock fight ensues, in which the old man kills all the others. This is repeated several times until finally the dead bodies of the five men are heaped in front of him, while he waves a club in the air. The people then leave the place with bowed heads. (This play is based upon an actual occurrence which took place in the long past when a noted warrior, who was thought to have killed a man, was tracked on a hunting expedition by four relatives of the murdered person. With his greater strength he turned and killed the revenging relatives.) The purpose of this drama is to convince the gods that the relatives are willing to revenge the dead but are unable to do so.

The Aztec religious worship too had a dramatic performance in which a human being, a captive usually, was annually sacrificed to the god Huitziotl.[8] Moreover, this captive actually stood for the god to the people, who, whenever he appeared, bowed in token of reverence and honor. On the final day before the sacrifice, when he was conducted to the temple by the priests, his every act was regulated by them, in order that everything he did might appear to be the symbol of a godly action. Thus, even human sacrifices were only dramatic representations of their divine protagonist's self-sacrifice for humanity.

A curious modern instance of a dramatic performance among savages is the custom of the Aleutian Islanders, who, when game is scarce, are wont to enact a performance in which some of them dress up to represent the animals they would kill, while the remainder shoot dull arrows at them until all the make-believe animals are supposedly slain. When this feat is accomplished, they are sure of the success of their hunting expedition.[9]

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[8] W. H. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico,* Vol. I. See also H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States,* Vol. II.

The Japanese people also had a drama for many centuries. One of these depicts the Sun Goddess who, in a fit of temper, declined to give forth her light to the world. The drama begins by the statement that the Sun Goddess was offended by some act of her children and had withdrawn to a cave taking her light from the world. The stage appears dark and desolate; cries are heard from the darkness. However, this was also inconvenient for the gods. They assembled on the dry bed of the river of heaven. After many attempts to lure the sun out of her cave, they decided to give a dance — the dancing to be on inverted empty tubs which would echo when the dancers stamped on them. When this dance was performed the Sun Goddess, as was expected, became curious and came out from the cave to see what this noise was all about. The gods were ready for her and they soon succeeded in persuading her to go back to heaven and again illumine the world.

This shows that even the lowest savages had some form of religious drama, which they improved as they ascended the ladder of civilization, by adding to it music, dialogue, and songs, thus creating a true dramatic art. Only the Semites, according to the detractors of the Semitic genius, were an exception. Only they are relegated to a category lower than all these primitive peoples. In explanation of this stand, we are confronted with the argument that we have never met with any drama among the inhabitants of Western Asia, neither do we find any approach to it in all the discoveries made in the recent excavations in ancient Semitic territories. This argument, based on the fact that a Semitic drama is not known to us, seems to be rather flimsy. It is always precarious to come to a conclusion when the hypothesis is grounded on ignorance. Some years ago we still felt justified in denying the Egyptians dramatic genius for the same reason.[10] Yet recently Egyptologists have discovered on the walls of the temple at Abydos a reference to a drama there enacted.[11] From this reference we learn that the worship of Osiris, the god of that temple, had in it a ceremony presenting in dramatic form, the life, death, and resurrection of that god. Of course, this discovery forced the learned world to change its opinion regarding the Egyptian genius, and to admit that the people of the Nile country were not lacking in dramatic talent.

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[9] Encycl. Brit., *Drama*. Also G. W. Gills, *The Aleutian Islands*.

[10] Driver, *Authority and Archaeology*.

In a like manner until lately, the Semites were not credited with any aptitude for epic poetry or any artistic talent, on the ground that nothing was known of such poetry or art among them. Then recent excavations in Babylon and Assyria brought to light a wealth of artistic and poetic treasures which had lain hidden in the mounds for thousands of years.[12] And since these finds compelled modern scholars to give over their preconceived idea of the dwellers of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, would it be so unreasonable to suppose that, sooner or later, there will be unearthed in the excavations now under way, a reference to a drama in the temples of Assyria and Babylon; and that we shall once more be called upon to amend our notion of the genius of the ancient inhabitants of these countries?

But even in the dim light of our present knowledge, we may safely infer that the Semites had a drama; not merely because all other peoples who passed through the same stages of civilization had one, but for other more cogent reasons. These reasons will soon become convincing when we remember that the origin of the drama in Greece is traced to the worship of Dionysus, the god of vegetation.[13] and that, by uniting the plot and music of this god with the chorus of Apollo, the drama was perfected. This Dionysus, however, is no other than Adonis, a Semitic god, known also as Tammuz.[14] Is it not more than probable, therefore, that the Semitic worshippers of Adonis had the same kind of ritual attached to his cult as their successors, the Greeks, had after them? This probability becomes almost a certainty when we recall that the religion of the Phoenician and Babylonian god Adonis-Tammuz was modelled on that of the Egyptian Osiris,[15] — all these being gods of vegetation. As was stated before, the worship of the latter contained a dramatic presentation of his life, death, and resurrection; hence the Adonis-worship, which had the same traditions, must have had the same ceremonial. Since a similar dramatic performance belonged to the Greek Dionysus cult, the assumption would seem justified that among the Semites the same god, under the name of Adonis, had the same kind of ritual attached to his worship as previously in Egypt and later in Greece.[16] This inference, again, would lead to the conclusion that the Semites had a drama.

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[11] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt,* Vol. I. Also Prof. Heinrich Schaefer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos.*

[12] S. B. Driver, *Authority and Archaeology.*

[13] R. G. Moulton, *The Origin of the Drama.* Aristotle, *Poetics.*

[14] Sir James G. Frazer, *Golden Bough,* Vol. IV., Adonis-Tammuz. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites.*

[15] They were under Egyptian influence for many centuries. See Breasted. *History of Egypt.* Also Frazer, *Golden Bough,* Vol. II.

Yet we need not depend entirely on inference. We have a Babylonian story which appears to have been originally a drama, recounting the descent of Istar through seven gates into Hades;[17] there she was detained for some time, until gods and men, thrown into consternation by her absence, importuned the great god Ea to send a messenger to bring her back. We are told here of her ascent through the same seven gates on her return to earth. Remembering the peculiar construction of the Babylonian temples, in the form of seven stairs,[18] we begin to see the meaning of the seven gates Istar must needs descend and ascend. Undoubtedly the Istar story was originally a dramatic performance, and the seven gates were represented by the seven temple stairs on which the several scenes were enacted.

Thus, it is obvious that the Semites were not lacking in dramatic ability, any more than other semi-civilized peoples of antiquity. That no actual drama of the Semites has yet been discovered, is due to the peculiar attitude of the Semitic priests. As stated previously, the drama of every nation had its beginning in the temple ceremonies. Even in Greece it was a religious performance up to the last days of Athenian splendor.[19] Aristotle says that Æschylus was accused of betraying the secrets of the gods by writing down the religious dramas.[20] In India, too, the drama was secularized through a betrayal of the holy ceremonies outside the temples.[21] And that the same was true in China, is borne out by the following curious story.

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[16] *Herodotus,* Vol. I.

[17] M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.* See also R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria.*

[18] *Herodotus,* Vol. I.

[19] Lewis Campbell, *Religion in Greek Literature.*

[20] Aristotle, *Poetics.*

[21] Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature.*

In the fifth century B. C., so we are told, a number of stable-boys were arrested for enacting in a stable a performance which they had seen a magician conduct in the houses of the rich for exorcising the demons.[22] These instances prove that the secularization of the drama came about through the betrayal of the priestly secrets.

This, however, could not have happened among the Semites, for the following reason. With them, the priests were consecrated to the temple-service from childhood; [23] in fact, there were always special tribes dedicated to the worship of the gods.[24] The young priests were drilled orally in the performance of the ceremonies by their masters; hence there was never any need for writing down these ceremonies. From generation to generation the temple lore was retained in the midst of the few, and when the temples were destroyed and the priests massacred — as was often the case in those days — all the traditions connected with that particular fane were lost forever.[25] This consideration renders it very unlikely that we shall ever find a clear, positive drama in Semitic territory. Even in Egypt only a reference was discovered; the drama itself was lost.

A further reason assigned for the contention that the Semites could have written no dramas, is the assertion that the Semitic genius, being intensely subjective, could have produced no objective art: that, being very self-absorbed, the Semitic writers could not have put themselves in the place of the hero of the play. While this accusation is so irrational as to require almost no consideration, let us pause long enough to show its utter absurdity. In addition to the fact that the epic is also an objective form of literature — and we have found the Creation epic among the Babylonians, the Gilgamesh epic among the Assyrians, and numerous epics in the Bible of the Hebrews themselves — we have a wonderful piece of objective art in the Biblical story of Balaam — undoubtedly the product of a Hebrew pen. In this narrative Israel is in the background —"We can see him at a distance," [26] reiterates Balak. The two most important characters are non-Jews, and the author gives eloquently and impartially the point of view of Balaam and Balak. Without any prejudice, he presents Balak as a patriot of his people, doing his best to save them from their enemies; and Balaam, as a true prophet of God, obeying every behest of YHVH. The writer seems to have experienced no difficulty in placing himself in the position of non-Jews and portraying them with perfect sympathy in all their sentiments. The Balaam story proves conclusively that the Semites *could* write objectively; hence this argument also falls to the ground.

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[22] Giles, *Chinese Literature.*

[23] W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites.* Also G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins.*

[24] Exodus XXVIII:1-2. Numbers XVIII:1-20.

[25] As to destruction of the Tabernacles of Shiloh and Nob, see 1 Samuel XXII:16-19, and Jeremiah VII:12.

[26] Numbers XXIII:13.

If we may hold that the Semites had a drama, we may be convinced that the Hebrews, being a Semitic race, had it also. We know, indeed, that the Children of Israel adopted many customs from their neighbors.[27] We read in Ezekiel that they observed the worship of the Babylonian god Tammuz in the Temple which as stated before was a dramatic performance.[28] Again, Israel was dominated by the influence of Egypt; first, in pre-Biblical times, during its sojourn in Egypt; later when, by the marriage of King Solomon to a daughter of Pharaoh, it fell under Egyptian control;[29] and finally, by the influence of King Jeroboam.[30] Again, we find the Hebrew people adopting the language and custom of the Canaanites, the former occupants of Palestine. For a long time it was surmised, though not actually demonstrable, that the Biblical language was taken over by the Hebrews from the people of Canaan. Only quite lately, the Tel-el-Amarna letters have verified this surmise, inasmuch as they show that the writers who employed the Babylonian language in the fourteenth century B. C., now and then used a Hebrew word to elucidate an unknown Babylonian term. As the Hebrews were not in Palestine at the time, the writers could not have taken these expressions from the Children of Israel; hence they must have adopted them from the predecessors of the Hebrews, the Canaanites, whom the twelve Tribes later dispossessed. Yet those words are good Hebrew expressions. This would prove, therefore, that the Hebrew language was the speech of the Canaanites, the predecessors of Israel.[31] If the Hebrews, then, adopted from their predecessors their language, it may be assumed that with it they took over the civilization, customs, and religion; and that with this last — if they did not already possess it — they must have taken the drama, long cultivated by the Canaanites in common with their neighbors, the Phoenicians and the Egyptians.

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[27] Judges II:11-14; Isaiah II:6; Jeremiah X:2-9.

[28] Ezekiel VIII:14.

[29] 1 Kings III:1.

[30] 1 Kings I:40; XII:20.

[31] Zimmern, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (3rd. ed.,) p. 652.

We know very little about those other neighbors of the Israelites, the Philistines. From the biblical account of their capture of Samson it would appear that they also had a drama, for we are told that, after Samson was seized and blinded by the Philistines, he was brought down to the temple "to play before them."[32] While we cannot state positively that the word *play* here means *act,* nevertheless it is almost safe to infer that the Philistines also had a drama, first because they were originally Greeks;[33] secondly, because their god Dagan was the same as Adonis. If such was the case, the Israelites, who came in contact with the Philistines for a long period, who were under their power, and in turn held them subject, were bound to take from them this interesting ceremony as a help in their religious propaganda.

The most convincing evidence, however, that the Hebrews had a drama is to be found in the Bible itself and in the ceremonies of the Jewish religion. From days immemorial, the Children of Israel had all the elements that, everywhere else, developed into a national drama. Those who claim for Greece exclusively the invention and development of the drama trace it back to the religious dances, to the chorus employed in the temple of Apollo, and finally, to the festival procession of Dionysus. The combination of these three, according to the Greek historians, resulted in the drama.[34] But we have these three factors in ancient Israel as well. We see Miriam and her maidens dancing and singing songs in praise and honor of God after the Children of Israel had crossed the Red Sea.[35] We also find the women dancing and singing in chorus when David and Saul returned from overthrowing Goliath and the Philistines, exulting that "Saul smote his thousands, while David smote his ten thousands."[36] David himself did not scorn to take part in one of these dances, participation in which was not held undignified for a king, when the Ark of God was brought into the City of David.[38] Again we have the responsive chorus in the early Psalms, which would indicate that the Hebrews had singing choruses. Psalm XXIV not only lends itself to responsive recitation, but in all likelihood was so used.

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[32] Judges XVI:25.

[33] J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt.* Hastings, *Bibl. Encycl,* Philistines. Also *Quarterly Statement,* 1907, Philistines, by Prof. Myers.

[34] R. G. Moulton, *The Origin of the Drama.*

[35] Exodus XV:20-21.

[36] 1 Samuel XVIII: 6-7; XXIX: 5.

Leader: "Who will ascend the mountain of the Lord and who will stay in His Holy place?"

Chorus: "He that hath clean hands and a pure heart;
He who hath not lifted up his soul vainly, and he who did not swear falsely."

Leader: "He shall then receive the blessing from YHVH and righteousness from the God of his Salvation."

Chorus: (Pointing to the people): "This is the generation of them that, like Jacob, seek thy face: Selah."

Leader: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, so that the King of Glory may enter."

Chorus: "Who is the King of Glory?"

Leader: "YHVH, strong and mighty."

Chorus: "YHVH is mighty in battle."

Leader: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and lift up the everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter."

Chorus: "Who is the King of Glory?"

Leader: "The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory."

In Psalm CXVIII:29 we find the same antiphonal singing:

Leader: "Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good."

Chorus: "His kindness endureth forever;" etc.

Thus we find in ancient Israel the three sources from which the drama came into being in Greece. It would, therefore, seem only fair to concede that the same factors brought about the same result here as elsewhere.

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[38] 1 Samuel VI:15; 2 Samuel VI:14.

The Prophets seem to have been aware of the power exerted by dramatic ceremony upon the multitude. They liked to take the character or personality of some individual or nation. Thus (a) Isaiah went barefoot and naked for days, to impersonate the Egyptians and Æthiopians, who were to be led into captivity barefoot and naked by the Assyrians.[39] (b) Hosea married an unfaithful wife, who was to personify Israel's unfaithfulness to God.[40] (c) Jeremiah wore a heavy yoke, as a sign that Israel was to bear the heavy yoke of King Nebuchadnezzar.[41] (d) Ezekiel impersonated the King of Babylon as fighting against Jerusalem, by making a brick represent the Holy City, and a piece of iron the wall of separation between God and Israel.[42]

In addition to these personifications, there were other attempts along dramatic lines by itinerant actors, who went from place to place, playing before different assemblies in various cities for the purpose of instructing the people in religion. Whether this practice was originated in opposition to, or in imitation of, the Canaanitish dervish practices or whether it was a national Israelitish institution, is of no consequence here. It is sufficient to note the fact that there was such an institution. The fact in point is referred to in the Bible, where we read that the *B'nai Hanbhiim,* or Sons of the Prophets, marched about in large crowds, *chebel,* playing musical instruments, dancing, and giving performances before the people.[43] They executed feats of leaping, falling, and dancing, and resorted to numerous other devices, perhaps for the purpose of attracting passersby. Many who came within their influence were moved to join them.[44] These men were also called *meshugah* — possessed,[45] and their office was doubtless that of the itinerant actors before alluded to, who performed whenever they had an opportunity.

We find in the Bible also a direct reference to a drama played in Jerusalem. There is in Ezekiel the statement mentioned above, to the effect that, in the very Temple, "the women were lamenting the death of Tammuz."[46] Now this lament was part of the Drama of Tammuz-Adonis discussed above, strongly dramatic in content and form. Such are the stories of Jacob and Joseph; of God's appearing for the first time to Moses; and of the life of Saul. But perhaps nothing will indicate so clearly the existence and the progressive steps in the development of the drama in ancient Israel as the ceremonial observances of the Hebrews. The Purim festival, with its mystic story of Haman and Mordecai, with its quaint ceremonies as retained to this day, is a survival of an old masque and dramatic presentation in vogue in ancient Israel. Such, likewise, is the Hoshana Rabba procession with the *Lulov* and *Ethrag*, the knocking, and the crushing of the willow branches;[47] not very different, indeed, is it from the Greek procession of Dionysus.[48] Other survivals are the ceremonies of the Passover night — the Paschal Lamb, the puzzling questions and answers, and the cup of the Prophet Elijah.[49] All of these show traces of having primarily been given in dramatic form before some shrine, or before an assembly of the people gathered to the great Temple of YHVH.

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[39] Isaiah XX: 2-3.
[40] Hosea I: 2-7; II: 1-5.
[41] Jeremiah XXVII:2; XXVIII:10.
[42] Ezekiel IV:1-3.
[43] 1 Samuel X: 5-6; 10-13.
[44] 1 Samuel XIX:20-24.
[45] 2 Kings IX: 11.

Dramatic traces are again to be found in the ceremony of the Sanctification of the Moon.[50] In that ceremony there are remnants of a dialogue as well as a direct apostrophe to the Moon — a survival, undoubtedly, of Moon worship in ancient Israel. For the performance of this ceremony three men are needed. During the services one of them says to the others: "Peace unto you." And the others must respond: "Unto you be peace." Then the three leap heavenward and address the Moon in the following words:

"As I leap against thee, but cannot touch thee, so should mine enemies not be able to touch me with evil intentions." These words and the accompanying actions undoubtedly belonged to a Moon drama that was performed when Israel, in common with other Semites, worshipped the Queen of Night.

The ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, with the goats as sacrifice which were sent by lot, one to YHVH and the other to the Demons of the Wilderness, as described in Leviticus;[51] the fasting and blowing of the trumpet at the conclusion of the services, were in all likelihood originally part of a dramatic performance. It would be out of place here to attempt a discussion of the custom of the synagogue of reading the law with the necessary quorum of three persons standing near the Scroll.[52] The Talmud asserts that this custom was instituted by Moses,[53] but this is only a makeshift explanation. Anthropology, which traces institutions to their source, cannot be satisfied with such a statement. The basis for this observance is doubtless to be found in its being an outgrowth and substitute for the original dramatic presentation in the Temple, where at least three persons were required by the structure of the play; and though the ceremony was changed, this latter custom was preserved in accordance with the law of the persistency of religious sanctity. From all this we gather that, like all other peoples, Israel had religious plays; that, like all other primitive peoples, when it reached a higher level of civilization, it crystallized these barbaric usages into ceremonies, to become symbols of a more refined cult, more adapted to changed conditions; and, like all peoples at that stage of civilization, they combined isolated ceremonies into one strong form of worship, which resulted in an artistic drama.

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[46] Ezekiel VIII:14.

[47] Prayerbook, Sohar. Mishnah, Sukkah, IV: 2.

[48] *Plutarch* (1, c, 14, 62).

[49] Haggada. (Passover Night Service).

[50] *Daily Prayerbook* (Berlin Edition).

[51] Leviticus XVI:7-10.

From the facts adduced thus far, we may assume that the Hebrews had a drama and employed it for religious purposes, like their neighbors, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians, and the Egyptians. Like the drama of their neighbors, that of the Children of Israel was in the hands of the priests, who preserved the plots orally among themselves. For very good reasons, as the Biblical student knows, the priests later in Jewish history allowed their traditions to be put into writing.[54] Among these traditions were also dramas and performances which were taken up by the Sons of the Prophets and others. Of these dramas, however, very few were preserved, because most of them had primitive ideas and even these were not taken into the Bible in their original form, but changed and recast so as not to be recognized as dramas in order to eliminate the pagan origin of these plays.

For this reason, these old dramas were turned into prose narratives by later Biblical editors. The reasons that prompted the latter to this course were their desire to unify and make the Bible appear a connected, actual history of the Hebrew people. The material, as it came down from the past to the days of Ezra, consisted of various forms drawn from various sources. Some were the work of YHVH priests and the Prophets. Others again were the compositions of men known as the "false prophets": that is, prophet-worshippers of other gods beside YHVH. From all this material the Judean editors naturally selected only those traditions that were favorable to the God of the Temple of Jerusalem. Everything else they threw out or destroyed;[55] and soon the works they chose to preserve had to undergo changes, emendations and revisions, for the religious ideas of pre-Exilic Israel did not agree with the teachings of Ezra and his school. The Hebrew writers of the early days, like their neighbors, had anthropomorphic and unethical ideas about the gods, whom they were wont to represent as involved in perpetual feud with one another; jealous, full of hatred, and struggling for preëminence. Nor was even YHVH an exception. As presented in the ancient dramas, he too, was far beneath the lofty conception of the later School of Ezra. Therefore the editors of the later age were very careful as to what matter should be incorporated into the Canon and what rejected, and in what form it should be preserved.

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[52] Talmud Megiloh, 23a.

[53] Talmud Jerusalmi Megiloh, Ch. III; *See also* Talmud Bab., Baba Kamah, 82a.

[54] 2 Kings XXII:8-10.

That the drama should be subject to the severest censorship, is obvious. Too eloquent a reminder of the heroic day of pagan Israel, it must either be entirely omitted or, being included, must be freed from all anthropomorphisms, and reconstructed into prose stories so as to appear true history. It is only due to the fact that some of the YHVH dramas had beautiful lessons to teach, that they were preserved in the Bible, though in mutilated form. It was also due to the conservative spirit of the editors that they retained in many instances expressions otherwise used only in the drama. These expressions help reveal the original status of the compositions and tell their true character.

As Biblical students today well know, there are in the Bible stories which were originally epic poems, but which were altered into prose accounts for the same reasons as were the dramas. The two stories of creation for instance, not only bear the marks of having been originally epics,[56] but their Babylonian cousins, which were lately discovered, are likewise in epic form, and shed light on the Biblical stories.[57] The same is true of the Flood epic, which has an echo in the Babylonian Gilgamesh poem. This makes it clear that the Biblical compilers had at their disposal a mass of heterogeneous material, that needed to be sifted and unified into a work of historical sequence and verisimilitude. All references to alien gods had to be expunged or endued with a new or allegorical meaning, and all the fictitious incidents in which they occurred, converted by a few changes into so-called historical events.

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[55] Baraita in Baba Bathra, 14b. Also, Tosafta, 15a. Also, Tosafta yad, ii, 13.

We must, therefore, remember that we cannot hope to find in the Bible a drama that would answer the exact Aristotelian definition of this art: first, because of the changes the Biblical drama underwent at the hands of the editors, changes in the process of which all its essentially dramatic form was eradicated; secondly, because Aristotle had in mind in his definition the Greek theater, and we may not judge a Semitic drama, by a Greek standard, any more than we may apply his standard to the best of our modern dramas — those of Shakespeare not excepted — most of which if the strict Aristotelian definition were brought to bear on them, would have to be removed from the stage. But taking the whole range of the world's dramatic literature and generalizing the Greek standard somewhat, the Hebrew drama will fall into its rightful place.

I should define the drama as an expression of an event in action. It must have characters, a plot, a conflict of passions. It must have unity of action — a definite beginning, a climax, and a catastrophe. In addition, it must be an expression of life as the writer and his audience see it around them. It requires poetic dialogue, uniting the qualities of the conversational story with the lofty diction of the epic poem. And finally, it must have spectacular scenery, rapid, exciting action, and a conflict of will against sentiment. Any story of the Bible that answers these requirements may be assumed to have originally been a drama.

If we take this broad definition of the drama, we find several stories in the Book which, even in their present prosaic version, have many of the earmarks of their earlier dramatic form. Judging by this standard, I find four stories which were undoubtedly dramas originally. These are: The Fall of Man, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the Story of Job. In addition we may state that the story of Esther was in all likelihood a drama originally. By a careful analysis we shall see that these stories fulfil all the dramatic requisites; they have all the pathos, the poetic fancy, and the ethical grandeur of the highest dramatic art, and may, therefore, claim their rightful place in the best dramatic literature of the world.

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[56] Moulton. *Poetry of the Bible.* See also Ewald, *History of Israel.*
[57] S. B. Driver, *Genesis.*

FAITH, SCEPTICISM AND AGNOSTICISM

An analysis of Professor Paul Elmer More's *The Sceptical Approach to Religion*

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

The Agnostic, it is safe to say, reads very few books on Religion. He knows that he will find nothing new, important, or thought-provoking in such books, and he believes, with Thomas H. Huxley, that certain questions are settled and closed and that the principle of open-mindedness does not require us periodically to reopen such questions in the absence of new evidence of sufficient weight and intellectual gravity which honest thinkers cannot possibly ignore.

Since the death of the great Agnostics—Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer, to name no others—nothing has been said either by theologians or metaphysicians and philosophers that has tended, in the smallest degree, to oppress or impress the intelligent and cultivated adherents of the school they founded. The growth of Agnosticism is, of course, a salient and significant fact of the times. But the Agnostic will do well to make an exception of one very recent and rather small book on religion—namely, Professor Paul Elmer More's *The Sceptical Approach to Religion.* Here is a work which, by its candor, apparent reasonableness, appeal to alleged fact and universal experience, and keen logic, challenges the attention of the confirmed Agnostic and leads him to search his soul and to put certain serious questions to his trained and disciplined mind.

Professor More has great respect for the genuine sceptic and endeavors to convince him without question-begging and, as he claims, without departing from the truly scientific method of investigation and argumentation. The sceptic, if he is consistent, courageous, and adventurous, thinks Professor More, should and must accept Faith or Religion.

This, clearly, is a remarkable affirmation, and it will be both profitable and enjoyable to examine it with some thoroughness.

But first let us note Professor More's definition and characterization of the sceptic. Many, he avers, who probably imagine themselves to be sceptics, are nothing of that sort. They are merely indifferent, timid, mentally indolent, superficial in dealing with great problems. Such persons Professor More leaves out of his reckoning, for, as he says, he simply does not understand them. They have no curiosity in respect of the cosmos, of human destiny, of the meaning of life, and seem to him to be deficient in that essential quality which distinguishes man as man. They may be estimable, gifted, eminent, useful, but they are not fully or truly human.

The sceptic, says Professor More, is one whose faculties are alert, who is bound to feel the force of the dilemma which confronts the sensitive, earnest, truth-seeking man, and who does not ignore the claims and challenge of Religion, but has to find a good and valid reason for remaining a sceptic.

The sceptic, therefore, must and does make a choice between two clear, definite, intellectually respectable positions. To quote Prof. More:

> Looking at religion from the outside, he will say that the whole range of beliefs can be explained as pure undemonstrable inference . . . not an inference from what is outwardly observed or from the mechanism of reason, but a projection into the void, so to speak, of his own feeling of personal freedom, responsibility and purpose.
>
> And the sceptic will go a step further. Perceiving that Christianity alone of religions corresponds with the final data of self-knowledge, he will say that the hard real duel lies between frank materialistic mechanism and the historic teleology of the Logos doctrine to which the Platonic philosophy may be regarded as a sort of preparation.

We shall return to this question of choice. But first we must show just how Professor More, in his gentle effort to convert the sceptic, arrives at his basic conclusion — his religion or his faith. He recognizes the necessity of a firm and solid starting point—of "some element of consciousness which is universal to all men and cannot be honestly disputed."

That element, according to him, is found in the sense of self-approval or self-reproach which we feel as we act in one way or another. We know, in other words, by an "intuitive affection" that some acts are right and others wrong. The sense we call moral—our conscience—is an integral part of our constitution as human beings. Moreover, it is more than a present feeling; it embraces the future, and is, therefore, teleological. It implies a purpose, a pattern, a way of life, and any serious departure from our purpose brings regret, remorse, a sense of sin, of unworthiness.

Further, these feelings and this teleology of conscience are universal. No human being is without them. No human being lives without some standard of conduct, or escapes remorse if he commits an act at variance with his code of right and wrong.

So much, of course, the sceptic will concede without hesitation. The next step, however, is bound to raise doubts and misgivings.

The data of observation, affirms Professor More, appear to contradict the data of human intuition. There are no signs of purpose in the universe. The natural world, including man, seems to be a series of mechanical actions and reactions. Science, as Spinoza pointed out, is resolutely non-teleological. Which, then, is the illusion, the voice of conscience, or the verdict of observation? Rationalism takes the view that our inward sense of freedom and responsibility is illusory, and that science is the only possible guide of human action, while religion, without repudiating science within a certain wide practical realm, urges us to trust our conscience, defy the logic of observation, and carry over the sense of freedom, responsibility, and purpose into our interpretation of the cosmos. "To faith the whole world thus becomes teleological, and religion is an attempt to live in harmony with a world so conceived."

The sceptic, then, is invited by Professor More to obey the urge in question and accept faith, with the obligation to live in harmony with the dictates of religion. He is bold enough to suggest, indeed, that those sceptics who choose rationalism and reject cosmic teleology do so, perhaps, because they shrink from the obligations of a religious life.

It is unfortunate, by the way, that Professor More refrains from elucidating his conception of the obligations of faith. Had he done this, he would have encountered a great difficulty—namely, that, in the first place, many sceptics and Agnostics do live up to the mandates of what he calls faith, and, in the second place, that millions of men and women who call themselves religious do *not* live up to those mandates.

How does he explain the case of those who observe the obligations of the religious life, socially and morally, while clinging to rationalism? He cannot accuse *these* of indolence, of timidity, of love of ease, of selfishness, of fear of adventure and risk. He must face the embarrassing fact that these men and women simply do not feel the urge to carry over their intuitive affection, their sense of right and wrong, of freedom, into their interpretation of the cosmos.

Professor More truly says that all human beings have standards of conduct, and at times a sense of sin and remorse, but it is obviously *not* true that all human beings feel the urge to accept faith or religion and thus attribute purpose to the cosmos.

True, as Professor More asserts, there *is* significance in the fact of the universality of religion. But what of the universality of superstition? And what of the grosser superstitions even in the relatively advanced religious systems? What do these facts prove?

It was doubtless a mistake for Spencer or for others to suppose that some one cause—dreams, for example, or the appearance of ghosts, or the trials and burdens of life on earth—produced religion. Many causes must have combined to develop the several religious systems, with the belief in a sort of personal immortality, in a heaven, in a personal creator interested particularly in the downtrodden and disinherited.

The only question which demands the attention of educated persons concerns the validity and the reasonableness of the essential affirmations of the two or three religions recognized as advanced and free from the most puerile and absurd superstitions. Professor More accepts Christianity, including the dogma of incarnation. He even asserts that Christianity has said the last word on the subject of God, human destinity, salvation, and redemption, and that no further evolution is possible in fundamental religious thought.

But in making these claims he chooses to ignore the fact that Agnosticism as one form of scepticism is becoming all but universal among educated and cultivated men. The Agnostics do not feel the urge to accept any faith, and least of all the dogma of incarnation and redemption. They cannot make the leap involved in acceptance of the idea that God condescended "to enter personally into his creation and to be born as man among men." They can form no image or idea of God; they cannot believe that Jesus of Nazareth was "the son of God"; they cannot believe that Jesus died to save the human race, or that that race is saved in any sense of the word.

The Agnostic says: I simply cannot pretend to believe the statements [attributed to Jesus] on which Christianity is based, and if he made them, he was misinterpreting mental and physical phenomena which the science of his day did little to elucidate.

Jesus, to the Agnostic, as to many others, was a prophet and reformer who used the language of other Hebrew prophets, but who offended the great majority of the Jews by his "blasphemy" and who aroused the suspicions and fears of the Roman authorities by his activities as preacher and agitator, since some of his followers believed that he would restore David's regime.

As to the assertion regarding God, the creator of the world, or the divine purpose in this creation, or the special mission of the human race, the Agnostic says, I do not know and cannot possibly know. I am under no compulsion to make the choice between mechanism, necessitarianism, or materialism, and "faith," in the Christian significance of that term. I humbly plead total inability to solve the great mystery of the universe and of life, and the explanations offered by the religions of the world strike me as naïve and childish. Faith, you tell me, is the great adventure, but, while I love adventure, I cannot embark upon any enterprise which my reason and my knowledge of history condemn. Without adventure, civilization declines and perishes, you insist. Very well, let us undertake the eradication of injustice and wrong in human society, establish peace and good will, and make life worth living. Here, surely, is adventure enough!

But, Professor More may ask, to what do you attribute your "instinctive affection" of freedom and responsibilty, and your inescapable sense of sin if you commit a deed you know to be wrong? Are you willing to plead total ignorance of that, too, and rest content?

No. The Agnostic has some theories that tentatively answer these questions. In the first place, the sense of freedom is often illusory, the result of a mere confusion of wishes, plans, and motives. Upon analysis, it turns out in many cases that there is no freedom at all. Pending search and analysis, we imagine we are free to act.

For example, one may feel free to defraud somebody and to congratulate oneself upon resisting the temptation. But what will analysis disclose? The resistance to the particular temptation is often the result of fear—fear of detection, punishment, disgrace—and of a much heavier eventual loss than the gain promised by the fraud. It may be in part the result of education, habit, and environment.

One may feel free to take an expensive vacation and withhold aid from needy and deserving relatives or friends. But, upon analysis, one finds that he is not really free to take that course. The neglected relatives and friends will suffer, write pitiful and pathetic letters, which will be painful to read. To escape that pain, one renounces the pleasure of the expensive vacation.

Where, in the end, the strongest motive prevails, or the deepest wish, there is no freedom of action. The word freedom in this connection is meaningless. We are bundles of desires, passions, aspirations, ambitions, apprehensions. We love, we hate, we please others by pleasing ourselves, and please ourselves by pleasing others. We are social animals, members of an organic whole. Yet our socialization is a recent achievement, and our altruism is not fully developed. Our lives betray our origin and the heritage we are but slowly modifying.

Agnotisticism does not undermine social morality, and human sympathy and benevolence need no supernatural sanctions.

To return to the social and moral obligations imposed, as Professor More tells us, by religion. What are these obligations? He gives no specifications, but in speaking of morality he says: "I see not where we are to look for principles of conduct more fundamental than the purity and humility and love exemplified in the life of Jesus." We infer, then, that Christianity imposes upon men the obligations of purity, humility, and love. Let us examine these obligations.

What is meant by purity? Purity of what? Of motive, doubtless. It cannot mean absolute chastity, or racial suicide. But what is meant by pure motives? Obviously, disinterested, unselfish motives. In other words, altruism. But absolute altruism, as Spencer has shown, is an utter impossibility. We must love ourselves at least as much as our neighbors and fellow-men. Besides, you cannot love others merely because you are commanded to love them. Love is an emotion, and we cannot force ourselves to experience that emotion toward those who repel us or leave us indifferent. We love but few, though we may like a good many.

Modern thinkers, therefore, rightly hold that by love Jesus meant practical helpfulness, friendliness, cooperation. All religious and moral systems not based on denial of life teach and enjoin these primary virtues. Society cannot exist without them. Hate, antipathy, division, isolation spell the end of civilization. Christianity has no monopoly of the primary virtues, and never had.

What is meant by humility? Not false modesty, not willful blindness to one's intellectual and moral qualities. Genius and talent are facts. He who has them, has them, and should make the best use of them. Jesus did. Other great men did, and we do not accuse them of want of humility. Of course, false pride, arrogance, snobishness, conceit are vices. What moral system lauds or encourages these vices? None.

Professor More's phrase is rhetorical and empty. No sceptic or Agnostic shrinks from the obligations he mentions, in so far as they have any significance or any application to the problems of social life.

What obligations does Christianity impose upon the modern employer, the modern banker, the modern broker, the modern professional man, the modern farmer, modern wage-worker? Is capitalism Christian; is fascism, or communism, or individualism? We know that there are sincere Christians who believe in capitalism and equally sincere Christians who believe in collectivism of one type or another. Revelation, so-called, is silent on these burning questions, and finite, limited, groping mortals are confused and divided. Jesus will not solve the problem, since he has to be interpreted, and the interpreters cannot agree, and never will.

The God hypothesis is equally useless to us in our crisis. What happens, happens. Either God is indifferent to human affairs, or else he has ends we cannot possibly grasp or even dimly understand. The German followers of Hitler who repudiate Jesus, because he was a Jew, and the gospels, because they were written by Jews, and Christianity, because it cannot rationally be divorced from Judaism, profess to believe in God, or gods, but are plainly reverting to paganism. Is their movement "providential"? or is it contrary to the intents and aims of the Christian God, and of the mission of Jesus?

These questions are not flippant. They are answered, as we know, in accordance with one's reading of history, including the history of religion, and one's philosophy of life. Revelation, alas, does not reveal anything to those who cannot accept the idea of revelation, to begin with, and who see that the alleged revelations can be, and are, interpreted in all manner of ways, so that, in the end, the revelations merely indorse and sanction the notions, the prejudices and the wishes one brought to the consideration of the whole subject of faith and religion.

No, Professor More is not likely to win a single Agnostic to his conclusions. His approach to religion is a mystic's approach, after all, and not a sceptic's. It is clear that Professor More, despite the best intention, cannot put himself in the sceptic's place and reason as the logical sceptic, or Agnostic, does. One final illustration of this statement must suffice.

Professor More says: "All things considered, the so-called disbelief of the infidel is an influence which, if honestly examined, demands an act of almost impossible credulity." And again addressing the sceptic, he says: "You ask me to believe that nature has planted in me, and not in me alone, but in all men, desires which I must eradicate as pure deceptions; that I am the victim of a cosmic jest, only the more cruel if unintended; that the ultimate fact of existence is a malignant mockery."

Now, does this describe the position of the Agnostic? Far from it. The Agnostic, believes, first, that as to things which science cannot explain he must suspend judgment, and wait with patience for the results of further study and research, and, second, that certain things appear to be unknowable to us, and that speculation concerning them is idle and futile. *This position demands no act of impossible incredulity.* On the contrary, it is dictated by the hardest of common sense as well as by the spirit of science. As to cosmic jests and implanted wishes that the "infidel" asks us to uproot and forget, what, pray, are they? The desire to live forever? There is no proof that nature has implanted any such desire. It is implanted by early education, not by nature. Nature implants a will to live, but animals have this will as well as men. Are animals victims of cosmic jest? Besides, thousands of men are conscious of no desire for immortality. They cannot even *imagine* immortality.

The Agnostic knows that he does not know, and he is reconciled. The man of faith "hopes," Professor More says, but he does not really know what it is he hopes for. He hopes that life has a meaning; that the cosmos has a purpose, and that the purpose is good, but, after all, these terms are used by him without meaning. He cannot form any conception of a cosmic purpose, and he cannot tell you what "good" means to the cosmos, since it is a purely human conception and it relates solely to human affairs. He is not better off than the Agnostic. He merely deludes himself and thinks he thinks, to use Spencer's phrase, or believes he believes.

The sceptical approach to religion leads to scepticism, to Agnosticism, not to faith.

BOOK NOTES

A History of Magic and Experimental Science. Vols. III and IV. Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. By Lynn Thorndike. New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp., respectively, xxvi + 827 and xviii + 767.

The first two volumes of this series, published in 1923 by the MacMillan Company, covered the period of the Roman Empire to the end of the thirteenth century. The present two volumes proceed through the two following centuries with an increasing amount of source material. As in the earlier two volumes the long historical association between magic and experimental science has been stressed, especially the development of our scientific experimental method from the experiments in magic.

The volumes consist in a resumé of the manuscripts and books of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century authors in the three chief divisions of the subject—astrology, alchemy, and magical procedure in medicine, as well as the reaction of popular opinion to these pursuits and the official attitudes of various popes, sovereigns, and churchmen. Astrology seems to have held a more dignified position than any other form of divination and was generally regarded with more respect than alchemy, which was treated as a mysterious and occult art, in its nature dark and wicked.

Under Pope John XXII a conference of alchemists and natural scientists was held to determine whether or not alchemy had any basis in nature, but since none of them could offer any positive proof of their contentions, a decretal against transmutation and counterfeiting was issued. But Pope John was not above believing in occult virtue as is seen in a letter concerning the gift of a knife of serpent's horn said to possess the power of detecting poison, and he is said to have paid a sum of money to his physician for "certain secret work," probably an elixir of life.

That astrology played an important part in surgery and medicine will surprise readers who are unfamiliar with this subject. Gentile de Foligno, one of the best-known fourteenth-century physicians and a prolific writer, in a *Consilium* on the Black Death of 1348, found the cause of the pestilence in "dispositions depending from the forms of the sky . . ." and the herbs which he prescribed derived their virtue straight from the stars. Two short tracts ascribed to him show entirely opposite attitudes toward the occult: the first on incubus deals with the subject as a diseased condition purely from a physiological and psychological point of view; the second tract on whether words, incantations, and suspension from the neck are able to cure disease shows how influential was magic in the medicine of that day.

There seemed to be no sharp distinction between the natural and the miraculous. Poisoning, as a matter of course, was classed with the casting of spells and curses, and many pages were devoted to various kinds of poisons and their detection. Black magic and charms were considered effective ways of disposing of an enemy.

Attacks against astrology and occult arts, however, were not lacking. Probably the most notable of these was by Nicolas Oresme in the late fourteenth century. In several treatises he systematically takes up his arguments seeking always a natural explanation for the wonders and offering hypotheses to explain them. He accepts demons and miracles as a matter of faith, but denounces ecclesiastical frauds devised to secure offerings from the credulous. His attitude to the deceptibility of the senses reminds one of that of the later empirical philosophers .

In the fifteenth century, however, John de Fundis defends astrology against Oresme, and he blames the sky for "so many earthly tribulations," but he blames the princes still more for they should be able to exert their will and resist the influence of the heavens.

One finds germs of later scientific thought in these centuries. Henry of Hesse besides writing against occult virtue predicts that new diseases may arise in future times from new combinations and suggests that new species of herbs and plants needed to cure these new diseases would also develop. He is not unfavorably to alchemy.

The tenacity of popular interest in the occult and in astrology suggests that perhaps the world is not so different today, when we see men excite great interest not because of their accomplishments in science or art, but because they are said to have had intercourse with spirits. It has been reported recently that there are 25,000 magicians in New York City today who collect $25,000,000 annually from the gullible.

In the conclusion of this monumental piece of scholarship the author tells of his and his collaborator's attitude in going over the old books and manuscripts: "We have taken them as we found them, and we esteem them for what they are in their totality, their fourteenth and fifteenth century *complexio*—a chapter in the history of human thought. Read it and smile or read it and weep, as you please. We would not credit it with the least particle of modern science that does not belong to it, nor would we deprive it of any of that magic that constitutes in no small measure its peculiar charm. Perhaps it would be well to read it and think of what the future historian may say of the mentality and scholasticism of the present era and with what sympathy or antipathy he would be justified in regarding us."

The Turkish Transformation. By Henry Elisha Allen. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1935. Pp. xii + 251.

The purpose of the author in this book is to aid in the understanding of the significance of recent social and religious changes in Turkey.

Turkey, once the champion of Islam, is in the process of transforming herself on the pattern of a modern European state where religion, once the test of citizenship, is separated from the state and civil law. The outcome of the Turkish experiment is of especial importance to other Moslem states for, if Islam is able to survive the drastic changes which it has been forced to undergo, it has proved itself adaptable and still vital—two qualities which are very necessary in the rapidly changing conditions of the Near East where the impact of western ideas and inventions is making itself so forcefully felt by the many and quick changes in the lives of the people.

The rush to westernize in Turkey came after the World War under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk. In order to preserve herself, a unified population was necessary; above all else and implicit in all else patriotic loyalty was needed. To achieve this, drastic changes were essential especially in the religious, social, and educational institutions so that Turkey might achieve greater efficiency and economic strength and compete with other nations.

The present attitude of the government probably is neither one of hostility to religion nor over friendliness, but rather between the two and best described by the adjective "experimental."

Mr. Allen has given us many excerps from recent Turkish books and periodicals making this book a valuable source of first-hand information about the Turkish Transformation.

The Renewiing Gospel. By Walter Russell Bowie. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935. Pp. xii + 296.

A plea for a living and growing religion and for inspiring preaching. The author deplores the rationalizing interpretations of the life of Jesus which consider him a teacher of ethics or the "first social revolutionary," and insists upon the supernatural character of His life. "Religious authority," he insists "ought to be based not on fidelity" (once-for-all-ness) but it is the "fertility of Jesus which makes him timeless."

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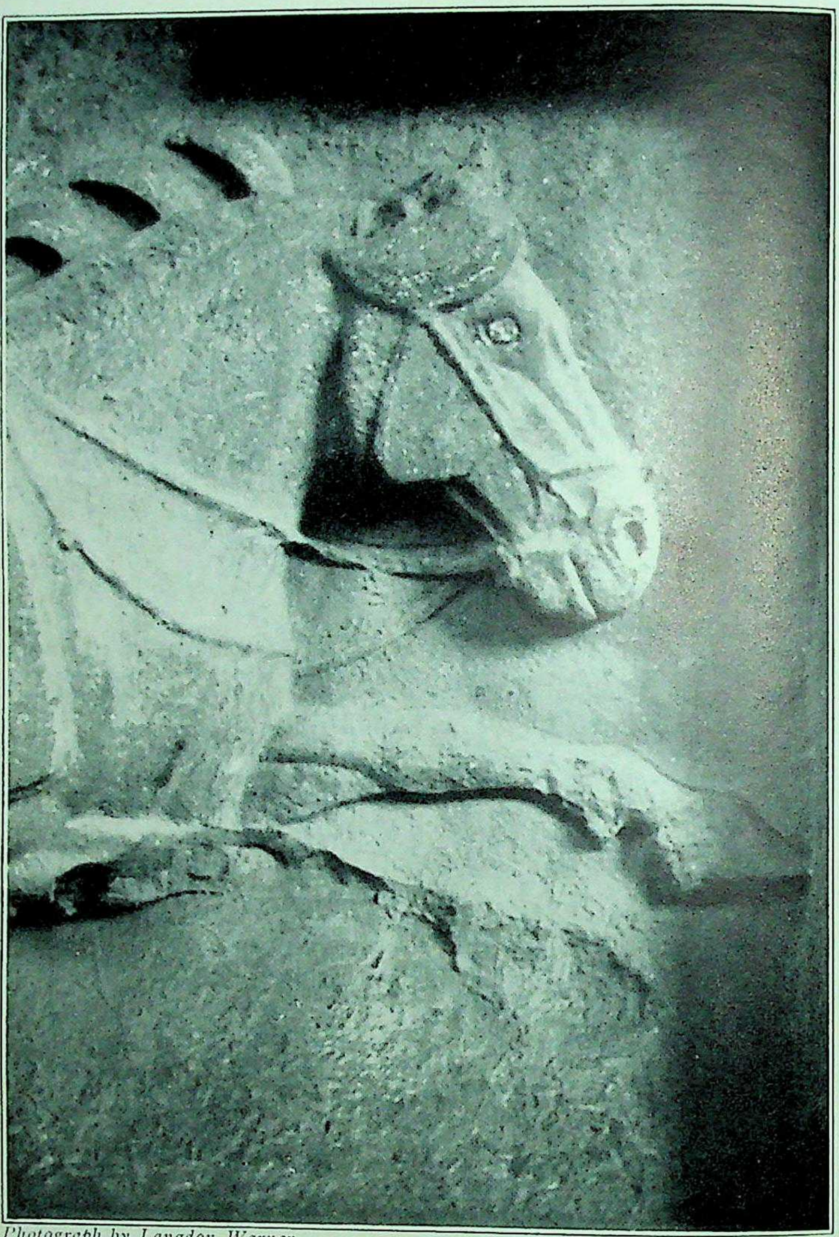

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THE BRICK RED HORSE

Detail of one of the horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung.
Sian-fu Museum.

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PROVINCIAL MUSEUMS OF NORTH CHINA

BY LAURENCE SICKMAN

THE provincial museum is an old institution in China. If by the term museum, we understand a place where objects of interest or historical value are exhibited and made accessible, then the present-day museums of China may lay claim to a very ancient heritage. It has long been the custom to gather stele of importance in the local yamen for preservation. In large cities, the Confucian temples have served as the repository for stone inscriptions of merit. The famous Pei Lin in Hsi An-fu is, indeed, an excellent example of this type of local museum. There, among the magnificent stele gathered in the Confucian temple, are not only stones cut especially for the temple, but also stele brought from the neighboring regions. In this way, the Confucian temple has come to house a number of highly important Buddhist stones. The modern provincial museums have greatly enlarged upon these simpler institutions concerned only with preservation and display. But the provincial museums are not new institutions and it would be a mistake to consider them as a Western importation.

The opening of the Ku Wu Ch'ên Lieh So just twenty years ago and the Palace Museum ten years later, marked a new epoch in Chinese cultural activity. The great treasures of the former Ch'ing dynasty were for the first time available to the public, and scholars were offered a field of research without parallel. This stimulus to public and scholarly interests was immediately followed by the rapid organization of a number of learned societies and research institutions. In 1928, the National Research Institute was organized, to be followed by the Peiping Institute, the Chinese Architectural Society, and a number of similar institutions engaged in the study and publication of Chinese antiquities. Under changing conditions, the
publication of Chinese antiquities under changing conditions, the

provincial institutions have readily adapted themselves and become active organizations engaged in excavation, research and public enlightenment. The organization of the National Research Institute (also known as the Academia Sinica), the Peking Research Institute and similar scholarly organizations naturally brought with them a great enlargement of scope to the provincial museums. Thus all work of excavation is carried on through the coöperation of one of these central organizations and the local provincial authorities. For example, the excavations at An Yang are jointly under the auspices of the National Research Institute and the Honan provincial government. The results of their discoveries are divided between the two institutions. Likewise, the work in Shantung is a matter of coöperation with the Shantung authorities and a proportion of the material is left in Chi Nan-fu and exhibited in the local museum.

We may pause here to consider briefly the organization of the National Research Institute whose activities are so important in the development of the provincial museums. The National Research Institute or the Academia Sinica [1] was first organized in Canton by Fu Ssŭ-nien, Yang Chen-sheng, and Ku Chieh-kang in the year 1928. At that time the program of the institution was arranged under eight different heads, namely: History, Chinese spoken language, Critical examination of texts, Popular customs, Archaeology, Chinese written language, Anthropology, and Study of the Tun Huang material. In 1929, the Institute was moved to Peking and the original eight proposals were condensed to three, which are: History and Critical examination of texts, the Spoken language and popular crafts, and third, Archaeology and Anthropology.[2]

We are here concerned only with the Academy's last branch of research. In this field the most important work has been carried on at An Yang in northern Honan, and at Lung Shan south of Chi Nan-fu in Shantung. The work at An Yang, which has brought to light so much important material relating to the Yin site and Shang culture,[3] has been carried on with the coöperation of the Honan provincial government, and a large amount of the material unearthed has gone to the province of Honan to be exhibited in the museum of K'ai Feng.

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[1] Kuo Li Chung Yang Yen Chiu Yuan Li Shih Yü Yen Yen Chiu So.

[2] See: Pei P'ing Hsüeh Shu Chi Kuan Chih Nan, by Li Wen-ch'i, p. 75.

[3] H. G. Creel, "The Re-Discovery of Pre-Confucian China," *Open Court*, xlix, pp. 177 ff.

K'ai Feng on the Lunghai railway line is situated in the north-eastern part of Honan just south of the Yellow River. Famous as the great capital of the Northern Sung dynasty, K'ai Feng has many important monuments of history and art. The most striking is, perhaps, the great T'ieh T'a, or Iron Pagoda, built in Sung times and later completely encased in polychrome glaze tile of the early Ming period. The provincial museum is not far from this magnificent architectural achievement. The museum is housed in a number of connected, rambling buildings given over to a variety of exhibitions. Like all the provincial museums, the one in K'ai Feng serves a number of diverse purposes. It includes collections of natural history, geology, ethnology, art, and archaeology. The greatest treasures of the museum are the inscribed bones from An Yang, the Hsin Chêng bronzes and the large collection of funerary epitaphs engraved on stone.

The Hsin Chêng bronzes, now on display in the K'ai Feng museum, are an important and impressive series which were found at Hsin Chêng Hsien, Honan in 1923. These bronzes were first published by Carl W. Bishop in a paper of the Smithsonian Institute.[4] Mr. Bishop chanced to be in the locality at the time of the discovery of the bronzes and was able to give a brief description of the tomb and the pieces as they appeared shortly after their excavation. Later the bronzes were cleaned, restored, and are now handsomely published by the Museum in the *Honan Record of Bronzes and Stones.* This great find comprises about one hundred pieces, a number of which were very large and spectacular. They were all found in one grave which, according to Mr. Bishop, had been the scene of a typical bronze-age burial, including a bronze-fitted chariot with its horse. There was no inscription which might definitely date the bronzes, although Mr. Bishop mentions the existence of a dedicatory inscription of a not unusual type. Although there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the exact dating of this most interesting series, still from the style of ornament and shape of the pieces, it is possible that they may date from the end of the Chou period, perhaps the fourth or the fifth century B.C. Of greatest interest among the lot are a number of large bells, one almost four feet high and beautifully ornamented with a low design of intertwined dragons. By far the most fantastic are a series of two pairs of large vessels of the type known as *hu*. These great vessels with full swelling bodies and long square necks rest on animal feet in the form of crouching tigers. They are also equipped with similar beasts in full relief as handles. One pair has on the lid, which is decorated with flaring petal-like pieces, quite naturalistically rendered cranes with wings spread as though poised for flight.

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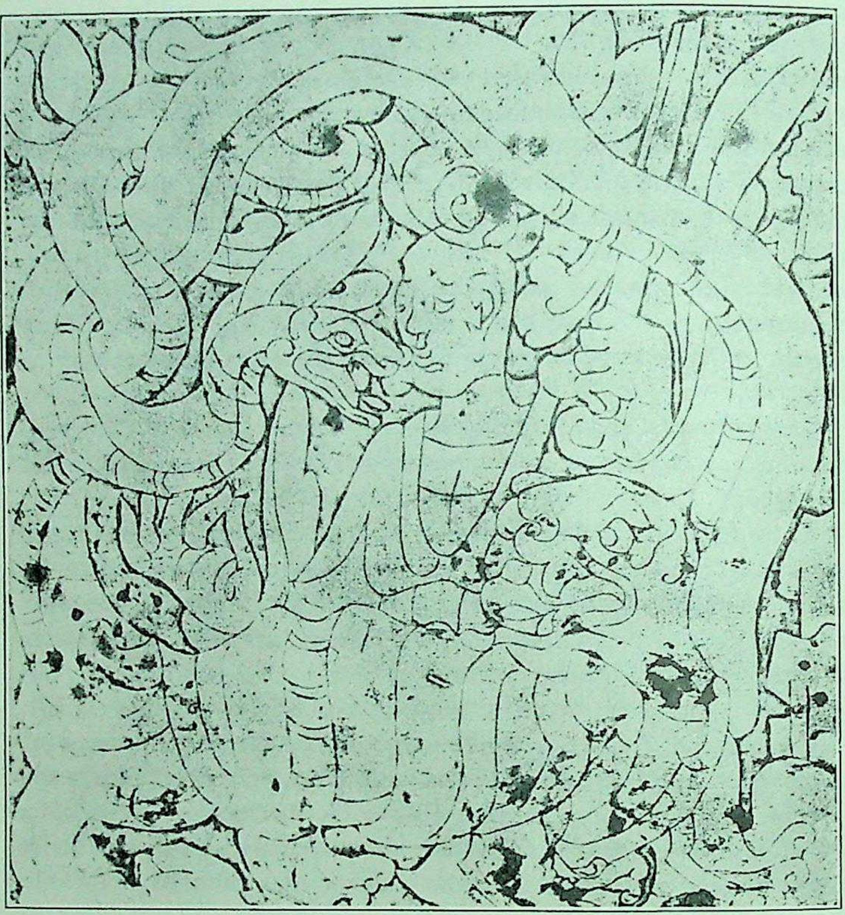
[4] Smithsonian Report 1926, pp. 457-468.



END OF AN ENGRAVED STONE COFFIN
Northern Wei Period from the Lo Yang Region. Scene represents the snake and tortoise of the North combined with a human figure.
K'ai Feng-fu Museum. Reverse print of rubbing.

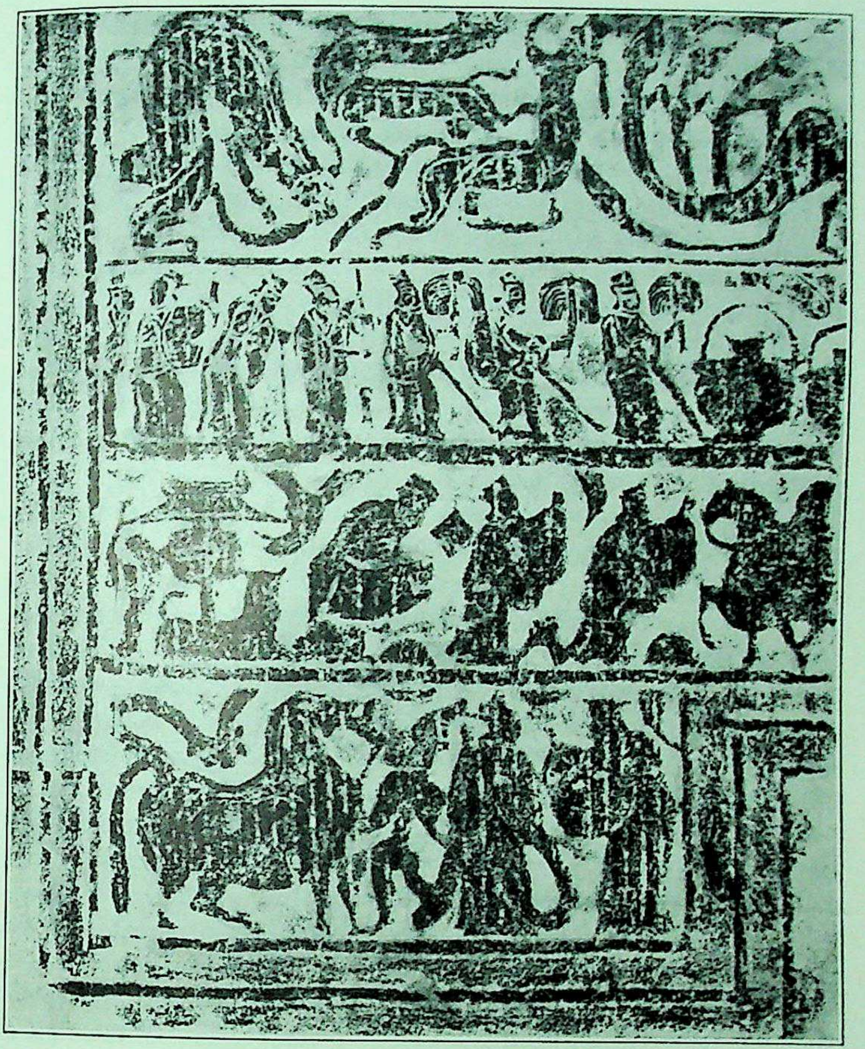
The K'ai Feng museum possesses a wealth of material from the excavations at An Yang. The greater part of this material now on exhibition comprises the inscribed oracle bones, but there are also valuable examples of ivory, bronze, bone, and stone implements. The museum has much material from An Yang and from other smaller excavations which has not yet been thoroughly studied. As this material is gone over, analyzed and published, it will gradually be made accessible to students and to the general public. Among the pieces now on exhibition, one of the most interesting, from the point of view of the art student, is a very large scapula bone, perhaps ten inches long and eight inches wide at the broader end. It is covered with powerful carving in an all-over pattern of T'ao T'ieh masks, and single-horned dragons against an intricate background of *lei wen* or thunder pattern. So far as my experience extends, this is the most complete and elaborate example of carved bone from the Shang site that I know. Such material is of the greatest value for comparative study. These carved bones taken together with the fragments of pottery bronze molds from An Yang, also in the Museum, all excavated under scientific conditions, give a sure and clear criteria for patterns appearing on bronze vessels attributed to the Shang dynasty. A number of the most important, inscribed oracle bones in the Museum have also been published in the large edition of *Honan Record of Bronzes and Stones.*

The funerary epitaphs, or *mu chih,* or *mu chih ming,* are eulogies of the deceased cut on stone slabs and placed in the graves. They vary in size from about one foot square to about three feet square, while the largest stones are sometimes as much as ten inches thick. The inscription is engraved on the upper surface, and sometimes the sides of the stones carry handsome designs of conventional floral patterns. Often there is also a lid. This is a large stone of the same dimensions as the epitaph with the upper edges bevelled so that the square of the top is somewhat smaller under the epitaph proper. This lid is usually ornamented with a central square carrying four, six, or eight large seal characters from which comes their Chinese name, *chüan tzŭ kai.* About this central square are delicately engraved designs of demons, dragons, or more usually, the four animals of the quadrant often mounted by human riders. Unfortunately, such highly ornamented lids are rare. The inscriptions on these epitaphs generally begin with a list of the titles of the dead.

his genealogy and noble rank. Then there follows an elaborate eulogy often expressed in passages of high literary merit. This is followed by an account of the death and details of the burial, giving precise dates and the location of the tomb. Not infrequently the material is summarized by a poem at the end. The importance of these epitaphs cannot be overestimated. They often contain historical material of great importance. They give the biographies of distinguished people and add an invaluable commentary to the dynastic histories.

Although the use of such epitaphs has continued to the present day, the large majority of those excavated date from the Wei, Sui, and T'ang periods. These epitaphs from the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries are of considerable importance to students of art history. The calligraphy is often of the highest order being characterized by a strong and powerful style as opposed to the more elegant and less forceful writing of later periods. They present many interesting problems to the student of epigraphy through their use of many unusual forms. As dated material, they comprise the most important body of evidence for comparative examination of undated stones. As examples of art and craftsmanship, the best funerary epitaphs of the Six Dynasties are unrivaled and comprise the main part of non-Buddhist material from that time.

The K'ai Feng Museum possesses what is probably the largest collection of early funerary epitaphs in the world. Many hundreds are on display while large numbers are still in storage through lack of exhibition space. The majority of these stones come from the Lo Yang region for, since Lo Yang was the capital through the Wei and Sui periods, the region is rich in graves of princes and dignitaries of the sixth and seventh centuries. Rubbings of all the epitaphs on exhibition may be purchased at the Museum. The most important have been selected and reproduced by lithograph in the *Honan Record of Bronzes and Stones*. In this publication, sold by the Museum, are reproduced eighty-nine epitaphs of the Wei period, two from Eastern Wei, four from Sui, four from T'ang, and one Sung dynasty piece. Among the other stones in the Museum, one should not fail to mention a large full-sized stone coffin of the Wei dynasty with engraved designs of an especially high quality (page 68).



HAN FUNERARY STONE
From the T'êng Hsien site. Chi Nan-fu Museum. Rubbing.

The Shensi museum in Hsi An-fu, is, like all the other provincial museums in North China, a subsidiary department of the provincial library. Their greatest treasures are, perhaps, four of the famous bas-reliefs representing the horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung which were shot in battle. A set of copies of these stones was made in 1089 by order of the governor. The museum does not state whether they believe the horses on exhibition to be of the original T'ang set or from the Sung copies. However this may be, they are sculptures of the highest order, and their association with one of China's greatest heroes renders them national treasures of significance (frontispiece).

The Shensi museum possesses some of the most important Buddhist stones of any of the provincial museums. In addition to a number of good Wei stele, there is a series of magnificent large standing figures, several of which have been reproduced by Sirén.[5]

This museum is at present less active, perhaps, than that of K'ai Feng or Chi Nan. But a series of excavations south of Shi An-fu, which are now in progress, are recovering a number of important objects of the Ch'in period. Doubtless, they will be published and exhibited in the near future.

The Shansi Provincial Museum in T'ai Yuan-fu is located in a large temple compound which also houses the library. The main temple buildings have been converted into reading rooms, while the side halls have been reconstructed to house the collections of bronzes, stones, pottery, and other objects for display. Shansi is one of the richest provinces in Buddhist treasures, and with wise providence, the museum in T'ai Yuan-fu has gathered many of the images from ruined temples. The number of Six Dynasty stones is surprisingly small, considering the fact that Shansi produced so many monuments in that period. However, the Northern Wei dynasty is represented by a few small stele. The majority of the Buddhist figures date from the Yuan and Ming periods. An interesting indication of former Buddhist monuments of great scale is given by a huge hand of a Buddhist figure done in black bronze and fully four feet high. Another great fragment of drapery, probably from the same figure, is in the museum courtyard. If the figure had been broken up for the value of the bronze, these figures would scarcely have remained. It may be that these two fragments are all that are left of a collossal figure broken in the great Shansi earthquake early in the fourteenth century which destroyed so many of the province's famous temples with their early wall paintings.

During recent years, the Shansi museum, partially in coöperation with the Freer Gallery of Washington, has been conducting a series of excavations at a neolithic site south of T'ai Yuan-fu. In addition to a number of stone implements, the excavations have brought to light large quantities of neolithic pottery of the Yang Hsiao type found by Professor Andersson in northern Honan. Great quantities of this pottery, almost all in fragmentary condition, are now on exhibition in the museum. When this material is properly assorted and published it will form a most important addition to our knowledge of neolithic China.

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[5] Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture.*

The Shantung Provincial Museum in Chi Nan-fu is one of the best situated and best arranged in North China. It is located in connection with the library in an old garden of great beauty, and faces on a lake formed by the famous Chi Nan springs. The library was founded in 1909 by Lo Hsün-hsün, at that time Provincial Inspector of Education. In connection with the library, he founded a department for the collection and preservation of bronzes and stones. He began the collection of stones, which were from time to time excavated in the province, and the ancient vessels already in other collections. Although, since the founding of the department twenty years ago, there have been many changes of government and considerable political difficulty in Chi Nan itself, nevertheless the museum has steadily progressed and been able to add to its collection.[6] In 1930, Mr. Wang Hsien-t'ang became director, and under his able guidance, the museum is rapidly becoming one of the best arranged and most efficient in China.

Shantung has long been known to Western students of art and archaeology through the famous Han stones of Hsaio T'ang Shan and Wu Liang Ssŭ. These stones, engraved in low relief, with scenes of ancient emperors and sages, auspicious spirits and strange beasts, and scenes of daily life, were used to line the stone houses of sacrifice before the grave or often employed within the grave itself. The Chi Nan museum has on exhibition more than fifty such Han funerary stones, representing a variety of techniques from very low relief, incised figures in stiacciato, to relatively high reliefs where the background is cut completely away and the outline of the figure slightly modeled. There is a miniature tomb door in the collection with an extremely handsome lintel ornamented by three great ram heads in high relief. A very recent acquisition is an exceptionally large lintel of this type. It is about eight feet long and in addition to the ram-head decoration of the other lintel, it carries elaborate borders of geometric pattern, together with representations of birds,

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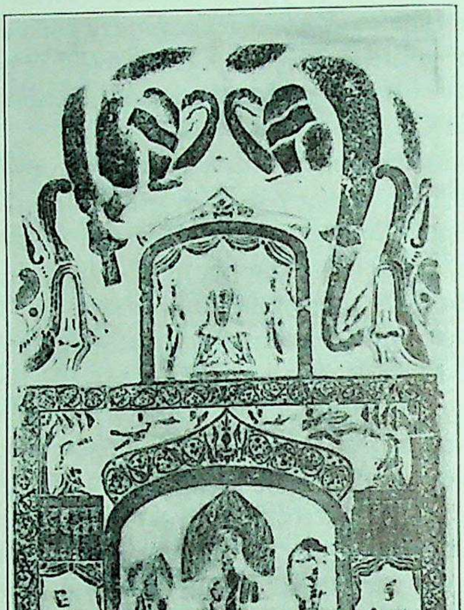
[6] See: Shan Tung Sheng T'u Shu Kuan Chi K'an, p. 53.



THE PRIEST CHIH etc. STELE A.D. 530.
Historical Museum, Peiping. Rubbing.

intertwined dragons and similar beasts. An extremely interesting series of stones, which were discovered in 1929 and 1930, and which, to my knowledge, have not as yet been published, are eighteen stones from T'eng Hsien. Among the eighteen stones, there is sufficient variety of technique to prove that they cannot be from the same grave, but in style they seem to be of one period. The probable richness of the Shantung field is well illustrated by the really casual way in which these stones were discovered. Nine of them were found when a certain Mr. Hung was digging the foundation for a house at T'eng Hsien; in the same district Mr. Huang discovered three more while plowing in the field; Mr. Wang Hsien-t'ang, director of the museum, himself discovered two outside the north gate of the city; and two more were found in excavating an old grave, and the remaining two were bought (page 71).

In addition to the Han stones which are all exhibited in one room, there is another stone gallery where funerary epitaphs, inscriptions, and Buddhist sculpture are exhibited. There are a number of Buddhist stones from the Northern Ch'i period and an exceptionally good stele of Northern Wei.

The most important activity of the museum at present is the excavation work being carried on at Lung Shan, south of Chi Nan. There the museum in coöperation with the National Research Institute has uncovered a culture layer very closely related to the Shang dynasty finds at An Yang. Below this Shang level they have discovered a neolithic site of the highest importance. In addition to typical neolithic stone implements, the excavations have yielded some types of neolithic pottery heretofore unknown in China. There are rather coarse types of red ware and a somewhat finer white pottery, but the most remarkable are fragmentary vessels of an extremely thin black pottery with a high gloss, probably produced by some process of polishing.

Peiping remains today the cultural capitol of China. Mr. Li Wen-ch'i in his "Guide to the Organization of Peiping Institutions of Learning"[7] lists eight research institutes, thirty-three different libraries and seven museums. Of these seven museums the most important are, of course, the two Palace Museums. However, since these collections are static, at least no provision is made for adding to the number of objects, we shall not consider them here but rather review briefly the organization and collections of another institution,

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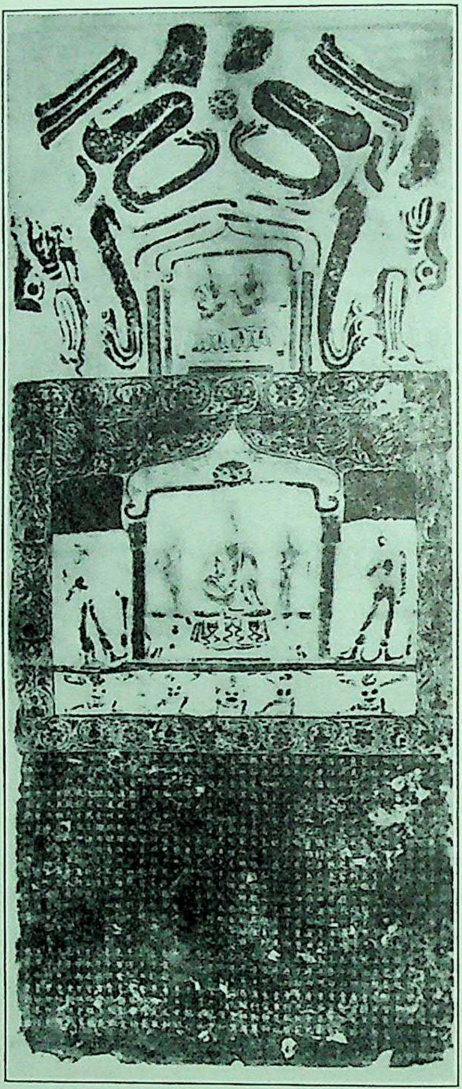
[7] Pei P'ing Hsueh Shu Chi Kuan Chih Nan, Peiping National Library. 1933.



THE CHU SHIH-KUAN STELE, A.D. 540
Historical Museum, Peiping. Rubbing.

the Historical Museum. This museum, unlike the others described, is not a provincial organization but is under the control of the national government. The Historical Museum was first organized in 1911 under the Peiping Department of Education but the exhibitions were not open to the public until 1926. Two years later, the control of the museum was transferred to the National Department of Education and in the same year it was combined with the National Research Institute.

The objects taken over from the old Imperial Academy of Learning formed the nucleus of the collection which has since that time been steadily increased by excavation and donation until at present the collection numbers over two hundred thousand objects of historical value. The museum is happily situated in the main hall and two great side galleries of the Wu Men or front gate of the Imperial Palace with a splendid view over the yellow roofs of the Palace Museum. The great number of Sung porcelains recovered from Chü Lu Hsien in southern Hopei is of special interest. The city of Chü Lu Hsien was flooded and destroyed in the Sung Ta Kuan period (1107-1110) and so the remains from there are definitely datable to that period. A great variety of Sung dynasty wares are represented in the museum collection and all from this one site. There are the so-called Northern Celadons, Honan Chien yao, fen ting, as well as the splendid thick white ware, often with black or brown over-decoration, which was manufactured at the place and has come to bear its name. In view of the scarcity of datable Sung ceramics, this collection is of the greatest value to students.

One of the best departments of the Historical Museum is the collection of stones. In addition to over fifty funerary epitaphs of the T'ang dynasty, the museum possesses two early Buddhist stele of the highest quality. Both of these stele come from P'ing Yang in Shansi and, though the dates are ten years apart, the two are identical in style. The one known as the Priest Chih Stele (page 74) bears the date third year of Yung An (A.D. 530) while on the back it bears a curious second dedicatory inscription dated the second year of Jen Shou of Sui (A.D. 602). The back and sides are covered with the names of donors. The second large stele, almost a mate to the one just mentioned, is known as the Chien I Commander-in-Chief, etc., Chu Shih-kuan stele and bears the date sixth year of Ta T'ung of Western Wei (A.D. 540). The back and sides are also covered with the many names of pious donors (page 76).

In principle, the Chinese museums present a double system: there are the national museums (one is planned for Nanking) which, through such organizations as the National Research Institute, collect material from the provinces to a single center where artifacts from all regions may be studied in relation; and a second system of provincial museums, locally supported, where objects particular to the province may be preserved. Already one may see this system at work in the sphere of recent publications. Thus, the Provincial Museum of Honan has published the important funerary epitaphs in their collection, while at the same time the National Library in Peking, a national institution, has under preparation a much larger work, drawing its material from several provinces but employing a farther selection. Without local coöperation such a general work would be an almost hopeless task. But the real importance of the provincial museum lies in the fact that it forms a local center of cultural study. The enormous task of preserving, assorting and interpreting China's antiquities, and making them accessible to the public must in the end rest largely with these local centers.

EDUCATION IN TERRITORIES UNDER FRENCH MANDATE

BY HABIB KURANI

BEFORE the Great War, the territory under French Mandate was a Turkish Province extending from the Taurus Mountains on the north to the Sinai Peninsula on the south and from the Mediterranean in the west to the desert and Iraqian boundary to the east—a total area of about 90,000 square miles.

The Treaty of Versailles separated the country from Turkey on the north, from Iraq on the east, stripped Palestine off its southern boundary, and placed it under the Mandate of France.

Politically the country is divided into five units or territories each with its own government and laws: the Republic of Syria, the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the Government of Jabal Druze, the Government of Latakia, and the Lebanese Republic—with population estimated at about three million. The people of each of these territories are granted self-government to the extent to which, in the opinion of the French authorities, they have evolved and matured politically.

The constitution of each of these governments makes full provision for the freedom and encouragement of public education, its aim being: "to raise the moral and intellectual level of the population, to develop their national spirit, and to instill in them a love for peace and a sense of solidarity."

Public Education. With France assuming responsibility over these territories, it is only natural that the system of public education here bears a very close resemblance to the French system and only varies from it in completeness and in the fact that Arabic replaces certain other languages of instruction in the curriculum.

To the casual observer public education in the territories under French Mandate appears to be rather decentralized, with each of the five territories assuming full responsibility over its education. But a deeper scrutiny of the five systems found here reveals a high degree of centralization in the system as a whole. With the program at each stage modelled after the French, with external examinations controlling the process of education in every stage, and with a central body—the division of public instruction of the High Commissioner's Offices—deeply concerned over the educational policy in each of the five governments uniformity in standards and output prevails. A description of public education in one state, therefore, applies to the systems in each of the other states. The essential differences are in the relative importance of Arabic and French in the program and in the relative degree of development of the system in actual practice.

Primary Education. In France primary education is oriented to different ends from those which secondary education seeks to attain. In the Mandate, however, children who enter the primary course often aspire to join the secondary school and ultimately attend the university. In the minds of many people the primary school is a preparation to the secondary school; it is free but not compulsory.

There are a few pre-primary schools (kindergartens) for children between two and six years of age. Sometimes this education is in separate schools but more often in special classes attached to the primary schools. The program consists mostly of games, singing, manual exercises, and stories with moral import. According to the official program pre-primary education aims to give to children who are below school age the care necessary for their physical, intellectual, and moral development. Due to the dearth of teachers especially trained for the care of children, pre-primary education is not yet very effective. It resolves itself to a miniature elementary school, and there is a tendency to emphasize bookish education.

The primary schools in a six-year course train children from six to fourteen years old. Most of the schools include only the elementary education; the more advanced stage, however, is found in the larger primary schools located usually in cities.

The program of primary education is uniform all over the country. In the Lebanese Republic and in the Government of Latakia there is more emphasis on French than in the other three territories. The program of primary studies covers the following subjects: Arabic, French, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Drawing, Physical Education, General Science, Object Lessons, Morals, Hygiene, Religious Instruction and Sewing. Some of these subjects are taught in French, some in Arabic.

At the age of twelve, or on the completion of the middle course, there is held in each of the states an official public examination which sanctions primary education. This examination marks the end of study for the majority of children attending the elementary school. It is composed of a written and an oral examination. The children are examined by a jury consisting of the head of public instruction in each state or his representative, the French counsellor, government inspectors of primary education, and teachers chosen from both private and public schools.

It is possible for a limited number of children who have completed the middle course of the primary school and who have passed the examination for the elementary primary certificate to continue their primary education one step further. Many of them, of course, enter the secondary school, but those who do not choose or cannot afford secondary education may enter the superior course of the primary school or may join a complementary course for two years. The aim of this stage of the primary course is to prepare the children for certain jobs such as foremen or skilled artisans, and to give them a more rounded education than is possible to receive in the earlier stages.

To sanction the studies of this stage the Government has organized another public examination: the examination for the elementary brevet of primary studies. To be admitted to this examination the candidate should have completed his fourteenth year.

In its organization and administration this examination is very similar to the examination for the elementary primary certificate, but it is held only in a few centers. The examination consists of two parts, written and oral; there is a government jury to conduct the examination and its membership is usually the same as the membership of the jury conducting the lower examination.

The subjects of this examination are the same as those required for the certificate of primary elementary studies only higher in standard.

Public Secondary Education. In the organization and development of public secondary education, the Mandatory Government is confronted with a number of serious difficulties. Foremost among them is the financial difficulty. The funds at its disposal are meager. Public secondary schools, therefore, charge fees and scholarships are limited. Secondary education is highly selective socially.

The existence of a considerable number of private secondary schools both native and foreign has retarded the development of public secondary education. This is especially true of the Lebanese Republic where the Government has deemed it unnecessary to open secondary schools at its own expense. The official secondary schools are called *lycées*. Their curriculum, organization, and methods are very similar to the French *lycées* and colleges.

The program covers a period of seven years and is devoted to the study of Language, (French, Arabic, and another modern language), Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Psychology, Philosophy, Religion, and Ethics. The aim of secondary education is to cultivate in the individual appreciation of culture, and to equip him with those methods which render him capable of effective thought and mature judgment. There is a special emphasis upon the appreciation of French literature, language, and civilization, and the rôle of France in the Orient.

The public secondary schools, however, had inherited from the Turkish régime certain characteristics and methods which the French Administration tried to reform. In the first place the curriculum was overloaded with superfluous material which was poorly taught and not comprehended by the pupils. Memory work and cramming were the main method of learning, and the school examinations at the end of the course encouraged this by stressing the ability to reproduce verbally the contents of courses covered without testing comprehension and assimilation.

In trying to reform the situation the authorities appointed French masters to take charge of the French classes in the schools. These teachers, besides trying to improve the quality of the teaching of French, were to serve as models for the masters of other subjects and help them in raising the level of their instruction.

The second reform which was attempted was the reorganization of the curriculum. This was done by a process of elimination and simplification.

The third step was the introduction of the official public examination sanctioning secondary education—the Syrian and Lebanese Baccalaureates. These measures had a vitalizing effect on the whole process of secondary education, and the output of secondary education has been perceptibly raised. The examination for the baccalaureate is divided into two parts. The students who have normally completed the courses of the first class (sixth year of the secondary course) are admitted to the first part of this examination, and its completion is essential for admission to the examination of the second part. Both parts consist of written and oral examinations, and in each case the written examinations must be passed before the oral may be taken. One year should lapse between the two parts. The language in which the examinations may be taken is either Arabic or French. The examining jury consists of the Minister of Public Instruction, the French Counsellor, professors from the government or private universities, and teachers from official and private, recognized secondary schools.

The baccalaureate of secondary studies admits students to the university and professional schools. Recently the Lebanese Government promulgated a law which in effect debars any candidate from undertaking the study of law, medicine, pharmacy, and engineering without having previously obtained the Government baccalureate diploma. The subjects of the examination are Arabic (History and Literature), French (History and Literature), a third modern language, Philosophy, Psychology, Ethics, Mathematics, Cosmography, History, Geography, Chemistry, Biology, Physics and Hygiene.

Higher Education. The only governmental institution of higher education is the Syrian University in Damascus situated in the old Mosque of Sultan Salim. The University comprises three faculties: Faculty of Medicine, including schools of Pharmacy, Dentistry, and Midwifery, Faculty of Law, and Faculty of Letters. The medical course extends over a period of five years; the dental course over four; the pharmacy course over four, and the midwifery course over three. The law course extends over three years, with one additional year of training required of candidates aspiring for governmental jobs. Likewise the course in the Faculty of Letters consists of three years. The total enrollment for 1933 averaged about 500 students. The University charges tuition fees to the extent of sixty dollars per year. Needy students are helped by a reduction of one-half the tuition fee.

The program of studies is based mainly on the French program. The medium of instruction is Arabic. There are a number of French professors, however, who have the right to conduct their lectures in their own language. Owing to the great lack of scientific material in Arabic, the teachers and students of the Syrian University are struggling against severe odds in order to maintain reasonable standards. Considering this difficulty the quality of work in this institution does not come up to the standards set by the other two private universities.

Teacher Training. In the Lebanese Republic teacher training has been undergoing considerable reorganization in recent years. After experimenting with many plans, the Government has finally approved of a system whereby two normal courses, one for boys and one for girls, each extending over two years, were attached to the two higher primary schools in Beirut. Admission to the normal course is made after a severe competitive examination of those students who hold the elementary brevet of primary studies. Each of these normal sections comprises two years of training. The first year consists of a general education: Applied Psychology, Civics, Literature (Arabic and French), History, Geography, Mathematics and Science. The second year is devoted to theoretical and practical work in education together with Drawing, Handwork, and Music.

Until 1931 the teachers of the official elementary schools of Latakia and Jabal Druze were prepared in Lebanon or Syria. In 1931 the Government of Latakia opened a normal section in the higher primary school of Latakia. In Jabal Druze the Government has attached a normal course to the public elementary school of Soueida.

In the district of Alexandretta, the Lycée of Antioch has two normal sections attached to it—one in Turkish and one in Arabic. Besides these there are evening courses for teachers in service. In the Republic of Syria, there are four normal sections attached to the Lycées of Damascus and Aleppo. Two of these are for boys and two for girls. At the end of three years of secondary training a rigorous competitive examination is held to select the candidates for admission. The course covers three years and consists of general academic courses together with theoretical and practical educational courses.

There is no special governmental course established as yet for the training of teachers for the public government secondary schools. Such teachers are trained either in France or in the Syrian University, by means of government scholarships. Students who are thus trained are required to receive their Master's degree "Licence."

Vocational Education. Vocational education is but slightly developed in the country. The chief reasons are the financial limitations and an unfavorable attitude toward manual work on the part of the people. Well-equipped vocational schools with a good staff cost considerably more than the ordinary type of school, and naturally the Government, in trying to make full use of its limited resources, is more likely to undertake a less expensive type of education. Furthermore, the people of the country seem to have acquired a disdain for manual work, and they look upon the school as a means to "lift" them from the toil of the farm or workshop.

Notwithstanding all this there have been attempts to introduce vocational education on the part of the government. There are two orphanages supported by the government in Damascus, one for boys and one for girls, which, besides giving the orphans the rudiments of elementary education, make an attempt at acquainting them with such crafts as carpentry, mechanical work, blacksmithing, shoe making, and tailoring. The girls are taught needlework, dressmaking, and tapistry.

In Aleppo there is a trade school which receives students of fifteen and gives them the elements of blacksmithing, woodwork, and machine-shop work. The school is rather small and poorly kept. Its three-year course consists both of theoretical and practical work. In 1933 the enrollment was forty-three boys. It had five teachers on its staff.

By far the best in the territory is the trade school in Beirut. It is well located and has an admirable plant and equipment with a teaching staff of six professors (engineers) and twelve assistants. The course extends over a period of four years. The first two deal with general instruction, mathematics, science, and general shop work. During the last two years the student specializes in foundry, forge, machinist, or electrical work. The graduates are in demand and are assisted in finding employment by the employment committee of the school which consists of prominent Beirut business men.

Agricultural schools have not flourished or even met with favorable response from the people. The government was obliged to close the best one because the majority of its graduates did not go into agriculture but tried to find employment in government service. Another government school of agriculture was sold to the Benedictine Ollivetan Brothers, but it still receives a subsidy from the government. Its program is simple, under the direction of a French specialist. It aims to foster agricultural experiments, to prepare intelligent farmers, and to encourage the introduction of modern agricultural methods and tools.

Financing Public Education. The individual states bear the expenses of education in their territory. Each community in which an elementary school is established is made to bear the cost of the school plant unless exempted by special order from the government on account of the poverty of the district. The central government of the state pays the salaries of the teachers. There is no special school tax, the appropriation to education being a division of the central budget.

The country is poor and heavily taxed. At the same time, administrative government machinery is complicated and expensive. Hence the allotment for education is rather meager. In 1933, the Republic of Syria spent 13.6% of its budget on education, while the Lebanese Republic spent 5.2%. The Syrian Government spends annually an average of 73 Syrian Piasters (93c) on every school child while the Government of Lebanon spends 28.5 Syrian Piasters on each (37.5c). The difference between the two goes back mainly to the fact that private education is much more widely disseminated in Lebanon than in Syria. Hence, the government does not feel such an urgent need to open up and maintain public schools.

Private Education. For many generations this territory was governed by the Turks who followed a policy of "divide and rule." This they did by playing up the religious differences of the people. Western government interfered under the pretext of protecting the Christian minorities and accentuated the hostility and division among the various religious sects. In order to maintain its identity each sect, therefore, established its schools in connection with its Church, Mosque, or Synagogue. Western missionaries in their efforts to propagate Christianity opened up schools also. These two factors, inter-religious conflict leading to the founding of sectarian schools and the efforts of foreign missionaries combined with an indifference to education on the part of the Turkish Government were responsible for the extensiveness of private education in these territories. It is estimated that 70% of all schools are non-governmental and their enrollment includes 65% of the children attending school.

One of the most important facts to be noted about private schools is their great diversity, diversity in aim, method, type of organization, and standards.

Of the foreign private schools, those organized under the French auspices are by far in the majority with approximately two-thirds the number of public schools. In their methods and organization these schools are exact copies of schools found in France.

The American schools rank next in number and importance to the private schools operating on the French program. Although founded, in the main, as a part of American missionary endeavor, American schools are giving secular education to pupils of many sects. Most of them operate on the American program, the course extending over twelve years. According to recent statistics there were 64 American schools in the country including the American University of Beirut and the American Junior College for Women. Ten of these schools are secondary, 47 elementary. Their total enrollment in 1933 was 2,576 students including Christians and non-Christians in equal proportions.

As there is an increasing demand for Government certificates and diplomas and for a greater knowledge of French on the part of the public, American schools in this country are at present faced with a momentous decision; will they abandon their American program and adopt the Lebanese or Syrian which in turn is patterned after the French, or will they permit their clientele to diminish and their influence to dwindle. Some of the American teachers seem to feel that by abandoning the American program their schools forsake their *raison d'être* in this part of the world.

The writer differs radically with this point of view. The salvation of American education in the Near East lies in coöperating with the Government, by adapting itself to governmental requirements. The ideals which American education is seeking to instill in the youth of the land such as respect for their own culture, self-reliance, independence of judgment, combined with good character, can be effectively instilled through either the American or the Government system. The land is in great need of a unified system of education and the American schools should help in its adoption. They can do so without sacrificing their peculiar contributions.

The American University of Beirut has already taken the lead in this regard by inaugurating a preparatory school modelled after a French *lycée* and preparing students for the Lebanese and French Government Baccalaureate examinations. It has also modified the program of its high school to meet the needs of students coming from territories under British mandate. A final step taken by the University in coöperating with the Government is the recognition which it gives to the official government certificates by admitting to its classes holders of these certificates.

Private education whether native or public is not interfered with or directly supervised by the French authorities. Foreign private schools enjoy a privileged status, and no restriction is placed on their activity aside from the requirement that their teachers should be of good moral status and that teaching and activities which interfere with public order be avoided. The native private schools are responsible to the education department of the state in which each is found. Foreign educational institutions are responsible to the Bureau of Public Instruction of the High Commissioner's Office.

While private education includes schools of all levels of instruction its efforts are more extensive in the fields of secondary and higher education. The private schools are financed in a variety of ways. Practically all charge tuition fees. In some instances these tuition fees are sufficient to cover the expenses of operating the school plus a small sum which goes as a net profit to the director or owners of the school. In most cases, however, the school receives a subsidy from the supporting organization. Foreign schools receive subsidies from their home organization. The native private schools are supported by their respective communities in addition to charging fees. The Moslem schools usually receive support from an endowment known as *wakf,* a form of endowment for religious purposes.

Private vocational education is not popular or extensively carried out. There are a few vocational courses in certain primary and secondary schools such as carpentry, shopwork, sewing, bookkeeping, typewriting, stenography, elements of agriculture. There are two institutions for agriculture. The Institute of Rural Life under the auspices of the Near East Foundation is an American institution which aims to give the farmers some knowledge of scientific agriculture and to give the sons of farmers knowledge of principles of agriculture. Its activities are similar to those of experimental stations in America. The enrollment in the school has scarcely exceeded 25 pupils at any time. The French University of Saint Joseph owns a large farm in the plains of Lebanon in which the inmates of an orphanage under Jesuit auspices are trained in practical agriculture. The training is under the direction of skilled workmen.

Vocational education is on the whole carried through the apprentice system, and in a number of crafts the skill is preserved in the family as a family secret or tradition.

There are two private institutions of higher learning in this country of about 3,000,000 inhabitants: The University of St. Joseph and the American University of Beirut, and students from all over the Near East are enrolled in them.

The University of Saint Joseph, under the direction and control of the Lyons Province of the Society of Jesus, comprises a Faculty of Medicine, an Engineering School, a Faculty of Law, and an Oriental Seminary. Besides these four divisions of the University which are concerned with higher education proper, the University of Saint Joseph has a secondary school with a lower section of the Oriental Seminary.

The Faculty of Medicine includes a medical course and schools of pharmacy, dentistry, and midwifery. Its program is patterned on the official French Government program. The degree granted at the end of the medical course proper is a French State degree permitting the holder to practise the medical profession in France.

The Faculty of Law also follows the official program of the French Government and awards the French State diploma. The School of Engineering and the Seminary offer, on the termination of the courses, the degree of a University. The enrollment of the University in the Faculties and higher schools varies between 600 and 650. In the secondary school and lower section of the Oriental Seminary the enrollment is around 800 students. The students come mainly from territories under French mandate. A considerable number, however, come from outside countries. The graduate of the University usually finds employment in these territories, very few emigrate.

The plant, equipment, and teaching personnel of the University are of a high order and in its standards compare favorably with those of institutions of its size in Europe and America.

The other private institution for higher learning, the American University of Beirut, was chartered under the laws of the Board of Regents of the State of New York in 1864. The University consists of a Faculty of Medicine under which are organized a School of Medicine, Pharmacy, Dentistry, Nursing, and a Graduate course in Midwifery, 2) a Faculty of Arts and Sciences under which are organized courses in Commerce, Engineering, Education, and Liberal Arts, 3) a School of Music. Besides these divisions the University maintains a Preparatory School organized according to the American elementary and high school program and a French *Lycée* organized on the Government program and preparing for the Government examinations.

The American University has a cosmopolitan student group and, thus, has a great opportunity for establishing understanding and real coöperation among the many countries of the Near East and the West. The enrollment for last year was about thirteen hundred.

The diplomas of the University are recognized by the countries of the Near East and America. Since its students are drawn from a wide territory, its influence is quite extensive. The aim of the Institution is to train leaders with technical skill to help them build up the life of their countries, to blend scientific progress of the West with the culture of the East, to exemplify Christian idealism so as to kindle the spiritual life of the students.

The graduates of the University are found all over the countries of the Near East. They hold positions of leadership and responsibility. The standards of the University and its influences are a credit to American ideals of education for it has really contributed to the Renaissance which is at present going on in the Near East.

Women's Education. The education of women although impeded by tradition and conservatism on the part of the people has been slowly moving forward during the past years.

This fact is proved by the great increase in the number of women's educational institutions on all levels, by the relatively greater number of women in attendance, by the toleration of coeducation especially on the higher levels, and by the admission of women into the ranks of such professions as Law, Pharmacy, Medicine, Dentistry.

Socially the woman of this territory, especially in the cities and larger centers, is moving rapidly towards full emancipation and sharing with men the responsibilities of public life. That there is yet a great deal of inertia to overcome need not be emphasized, but the movement has been gaining momentum every year, not among Christians only, but also among other sects, notably Moslems.

There are a number of primary, secondary, and even higher schools for women. The British Syrian Training College prepares women teachers for posts both in the elementary and secondary schools. It has a normal course which may be considered equivalent to the completion of sophomore standing of a regular American Teachers College. The American Junior College for Women is a standard junior college and its program is approved by the American University of Beirut, for admission to junior year of the School of Arts and Sciences and to some of the professional schools.

The chief limitations of women's education at present are the lack of adaptation to the special needs of women and inadequacy. The courses offered and their contents are oriented in most of the schools to give a cultural education such as the ordinary young man would need. Considering the fact that the vast majority of women are still chiefly occupied with family concerns this education does not seem to be particularly well suited to their needs.

Some thoughts on the educational situation. In closing a few lines evaluating the contributions of education to the people and the educational policy should be written. The writer recognizes the difficulty of the task owing to the fact that the attitude of any individual evaluating a program of education is very much colored by his own educational philosophy which in turn is the product of his early schooling.

There are certain drawbacks and limitations in the educational situation which in the opinion of the writer decrease its effectiveness and which it seems necessary to improve.

The great diversity of private schools, the lack of central control and supervision over their activities is a shortcoming that should be reformed. Diversity in education is commendable under certain conditions. When the school is sincere in its efforts to serve the community, when it has a teaching staff which is well trained and endowed with a sense of professional responsibility, then it is safe to give this school freedom in working out its program. Unfortunately only few of the private schools in this land come up to this standard. Instead of serving the public they are mindful of the interests of one sect only or are conducted for private gain. They breed sectarianism in the country and actually hinder inter-religious understanding and coöperation. They compete with one another and oftentimes resort to underhanded methods in trying to undermine schools of different sects. Many of them are exceedingly poorly equipped. It is not to be gathered that all private schools are of this order. A few of the private schools are of a very high standard and may well be taken as models to guide the schools of the Government.

There is an excessive emphasis on foreign language in both the program of the elementary and secondary schools. In Latakia and Lebanon half of the elementary school program is taught in French and half in Arabic. Through this excessive emphasis on foreign language, the pupils are rather retarded and elementary education rendered superficial and limited. Pupils are required to solve problems in arithmetic in French, to grasp some of the principles of science in French; subjects which are rather difficult in themselves without the added task of comprehending them in a foreign language. The ability to speak and read a foreign tongue is taken as the main criterion for judging the success of elementary education. This emphasis on language is seen more vividly in the secondary schools. The examinations for the Baccalaureate demand almost an equal knowledge of two languages and literature—the Arabic and the French. The standards of examinations are not low. This has rendered the Syrian and Lebanese Baccalaureate diploma rather more difficult to obtain than the French Baccalaureate. Recently the situation has been slightly ameliorated but more can and should be done.

The excessive importance given to the examinations leads to a proportional diminishing of the real worth of primary and secondary education. The writer recognizes the fact that there are two sides to this question. Some argue that an external examination stimulates both pupil and teacher to put greater effort into their work, defines the aims of education more concretely and helps to establish an *ésprit de corps* between teacher and pupil since both of them are working for the attainment of a common goal—the passing of the examination. While not minimizing the value of the examination the writer believes that in this country the examinations control the education to a great extent, they encourage cramming and they do not help education in the attainment of its real aim, namely enrichment of living.

Then there is little or no differentiation between the program of the rural and urban elementary schools. The children of twelve whether they come from a small village school or from a large urban one must take the same Government examinations. Education under these conditions ceases to be an adjustment to and appreciation of the environment, but limits itself to the acquisition of certain facts.

Vocational education is sadly lacking. There is an overabundance of maladjusted persons who are anxious to fill white-collar jobs but a lack of skilled artisans and workmen. The farmer is conservative and has very little acquaintance with some of the fundamental developments in agriculture.

Finally education, especially foreign private education, is responsible for the creation of an educated class widely separated in sympathies and ideas from the masses. They cannot lead the people because they do not understand their needs. They are more foreign than native and they pride themselves in this fact. In this respect the majority of the private schools are harmful to the country because they are weaning its best minds away from it.

Notwithstanding all these drawbacks and limitations, there is no doubt but that the mandatory authorities are sincere in introducing into the country the best aspects of French education. It is also well established fact that since the French Administration assumed responsibility over the country, public education has been improving gradually and definitely. New schools have been opened, teachers of higher caliber have been engaged and better paid; school buildings are in a better physical condition, and the curricula are being gradually organized. There is a program and a policy guiding public education.

MAKING THE MOST OF MINISTERIAL MATURITY

BY HENRY CHARLES SUTER

In consideration of the increasing command issuing these crucial days from churches to "give us a young man for our minister," one feels compelled to comment critically as well as caustically upon this matter of so-called maturity in ministers. The average theological student finishes his course of study at thirty, and if he seeks an advanced degree, concludes at thirty-five his college course. This is usually the utmost limit put upon the age of ministers, at least for any prominent pulpit of today, in some cases a man "not over thirty-five," and in most cases cited, "certainly this side of fifty."

Thus it is decreed by congregations and acquiesced by even ecclesiastical authorities, that a minister is most acceptable at thirty-five, when at forty, he is somewhat discounted, while at fifty he is seemingly undesirable at many accountable churches. Thus it means that a man's ministerial career is but a matter of fifteen to twenty years at the best; hence we should be open to proposals for utilizing the remaining portion allotted to life's maturity.

It might be contended that in the other callings the same situation pertains, in that the more experienced men and women of mature age are being pushed out and younger people promoted to occupy such positions. Particularly is the thinner pay envelope being used to bring about this objective. But it must be pointed out this applies to commercial matters and not to professional callings. In the medical profession there is still a premium put upon old age and experience, in that people will not trust young practitioners in critical cases, since by demanding the old doctor, he will diagnose according to the whole history of a patient. His experience being accounted of more consideration than his academical preparation. Consider the practice of law. The longer a lawyer has been citing cases, the more dependable his defence of yours. Moreover, at the mature age of fifty-five or sixty, most of them are promoted to the honor of some higher court and, when older still, have been given places upon the supreme bench.

Not long ago, a man who was approaching the age of retirement in the Christian ministry was called to become president of a large university in this country. As accounted in ordinary ability, he had attained the age of discount in the ministry, but apparently considered at a high premium in the affairs of education. Thus, it is evident that experience is an asset, and age an advantage in law, medicine, and education, but not in the ministry of religion, or the profession of the clergy.

Yet here is the rub; experience is the principle factor in religion, as well as the teaching of it to others, since it is not a matter of truth and theory only, but the minister must be able to speak in all such things from experience. Still with this experience comes the possibility of the discontinuing of his services, since he is not on the salubrious side of sixty.

So much, then, for the critical side of the argument; let us now revert to the constructive. It is suggested that all ministers should possess a secondary avocation, upon which to fall when at forty-five or fifty the Christian Church has no further use for his services. He is energetic in body and eager of soul to invest his abilities as ever he was, but the Church is looking for men "under forty" or thereabouts. Further, these suggestions might be considered by our seminaries and adapted to the subsidiary gifts and secondary aptitudes that most of their students are acquiring, in the light of the knowledge they have attained on the matter of maturity in the ministry. It might sustain those students who started too soon to escape the shock when this truth was first thrust at them, as well as persuade those to resume who decided it better to discontinue ministerial study, fearing to meet with this maturity.

The first consideration, then, in addition to our ministerial calling might be Insurance. Many ministers have found this occupation analogous to the ministry in that its salient sales evaluation speaks of future happiness of home; care for the aged; relief in sickness: and readiness for the rainy day, even including the deluge—all matters of importance to ministers. Many insurance companies are manned by ministers who already know it requires the alertness of an athlete, the persuasion of a parson, and the sagacity of the saint to make it successful.

The second consideration suggested is salesmanship. Particularly with some publishing house. During the minister's training he has learned that there are books that speak, books that shriek, and books that merely slobber. What an opportunity to champion the cause of the best books, without being compelled to boost those published by the particular denominational house to which he had dedicated his life. There is a larger liberation by literature coming to that minister who can open the door to others in the matter of promoting good reading. For why should he, as a minister, be put on the shelf like a book, when most of his brethren of other professions are being put on the bench, or put on lists of specialists, or put in colleges as principals and presidents?

A third consideration in future occupation might be found in gardening. A course taken in this art should prove useful during the nine days' wonder of his brief ministry, as well as profitable to his pocket as a second vocation when the first no longer claimed him.

Finally there is writing. If every minister should be given a course in journalism while in college, there would not be so many ministerial confessions concerning their inability to write in these days. Certainly it is a trite saying that writers are born, not made; but it is true that some practical training in this connection would create better English in the expressions of a man who has given the cream of his life to the Church. By teaching our theological students to write, they will assume a literary style and acquire an accuracy of expression, which when closed from the pulpit by the decrees of ecclesiastical powers, may yet continue to prove more powerful in written word and more mighty in moving greater multitudes.

Let us recall that even Jesus had a secondary calling beside that of being the Savior of the world, for was he not a carpenter, and it may be during those silent years of Our Savior, when perhaps He felt He had lost the support of His people, He went back to the carpenter's bench. Remember Paul was a tentmaker and was mighty proud of the fact that he was dependent upon no particular party for a living. Even the disciples when they felt the claim that they be fishers of men cease, fell back upon their other occupation of fishing for food in the sea, and doubtless were persuaded there was a more substantial supply to be obtained to keep body and soul together even in old age, than ever they hoped to possess while fishing on land. This, then, is the manner in which the minister may master the dead line of ecclesiastical majority: by additional avocations make the most of ministerial maturity.

THE KERASHER PAPYRUS

BY EDWARD ULBACK

AMONGST the treasures of the British Museum is a hieratic manuscript, found in Thebes, written by, or for, an ancient Egyptian nobleman of the name of Kerasher. It is a religious work of the Ptolemaic or Roman period, in good legible condition, and is very valuable as showing the state of opinion on the question of the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, as prevalent in Egypt a short time previous to the advent of our Lord. It is thus of great service in our study of the history of religious thought.

The illustrations given are of funeral rites, and these, it is plainly indicated, were very similar to those which had been practised in Egypt for one or two thousand years previously. And the text shows that the ideas of the future state had not greatly changed amongst the Egyptians since the times of the patriarchs. There was still that firm faith in the blessed immortality of the purified which is found in the very earliest records of the human race.

In this short treatise mention is made of the *Ka,* which was the substantia of which body, *Kat,* and soul, *Ba,* and glorified body, *Sah,* and glorified soul, *Khu,* were developments. Every existing thing had a *Ka.* Then there was the mortal body, which, ere there can be blessedness after death, must be purified within and without. Thus, Kerasher is addressed: "Not a member of thee is imperfect," "It enters the underworld perfectly cleansed." This probably refers to the work of the embalmer. The glorified body was not the transmutation of the mummy, as some have imagined. That was but the seed, which should germinate, and from which the body of the future was to grow. "Ptah," the great former, will be at hand "to mould thy members. Amen is near thee to renew life. A fair path is opened before thee. Thou wilt see with thine eyes, hear with thine ears, and speak with thy mouth. The soul will be renewed godlike, in the underworld will be made thy transformations according to thy wish. Thy members will be on thy bones like what thou hadst on earth. Thou wilt drink with thy throat, eat with thy mouth, and receive nourishment with divine souls." All is to be similar to the old body, but formed afresh, and that in accord with the desires of the soul. This is the Pauline idea. "Thou sowest not that body which shall be. To every seed its own body."

Man has a spiritual as well as a corporeal nature. This was not overlooked in the subtle psychology of the ancient Egyptians. The soul lives on. Kerasher is addressed: "Enter thou into the horizon with Ra. Thy soul will be received into the Neshem bark of Osiris. They will make thy soul godlike in the abode of Sebat. They will make thee to triumph for ever and ever." "Thy soul liveth in heaven every day." "Thy soul shall live, thy body shall grow, by the command of Ra himself. There shall not be decay or injury to thee. Thou wilt be like Ra for ever and ever."

Whatever else is needed, the importance of purification is strongly enforced. Apparently this comes on a principle of grace. The manuscript, giving no reasons, opens: "Thou art pure. Thy heart is pure. Thou art pure behind, pure before, pure within. Thou art washed with water and incense. Not a part of thee hath a blemish. Kerasher is purified in the pool of the field of peace, north of the field of adoration [or perhaps grasshoppers]. Enter into the hall of truth. Thou art cleansed from sin and all ill. Thy name is 'Stone of Truth.' Hail, Kerasher! Enter Hades as one greatly cleansed." There may be a suggestion here of the purifying work of the embalmer on the body; but certainly the promises have a much wider scope.

The negative confession, as it is called, in which in former days the deceased invoked forty-two gods and declared to each his freedom from sin, is here reduced to six assertions. Kerasher calls certain mysterious gods to witness that he had not (1) done violence, (2) nor made boasting, (3) nor carried away the property of the dead, (4) nor done injury, (5) nor been wrong at heart, (6) nor made rebellion. Then follows the grand old profession of the Egyptian, which we have in the Book of Job. "He hath given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked. There is no accusation against him before the gods." "Let him be favored amongst those who are favored." "Grant that his soul may travel to every place where he would be, living in the land forever (twice over) and for eternity (twice over)."

There is a hieroglyphic inscription on the vignette which is of similar import. One passage calls for notice—"Thou art favored before the gods," and again, "He places thee at the head of the favored ones." These are very like expressions of faith in salvation by Divine grace.

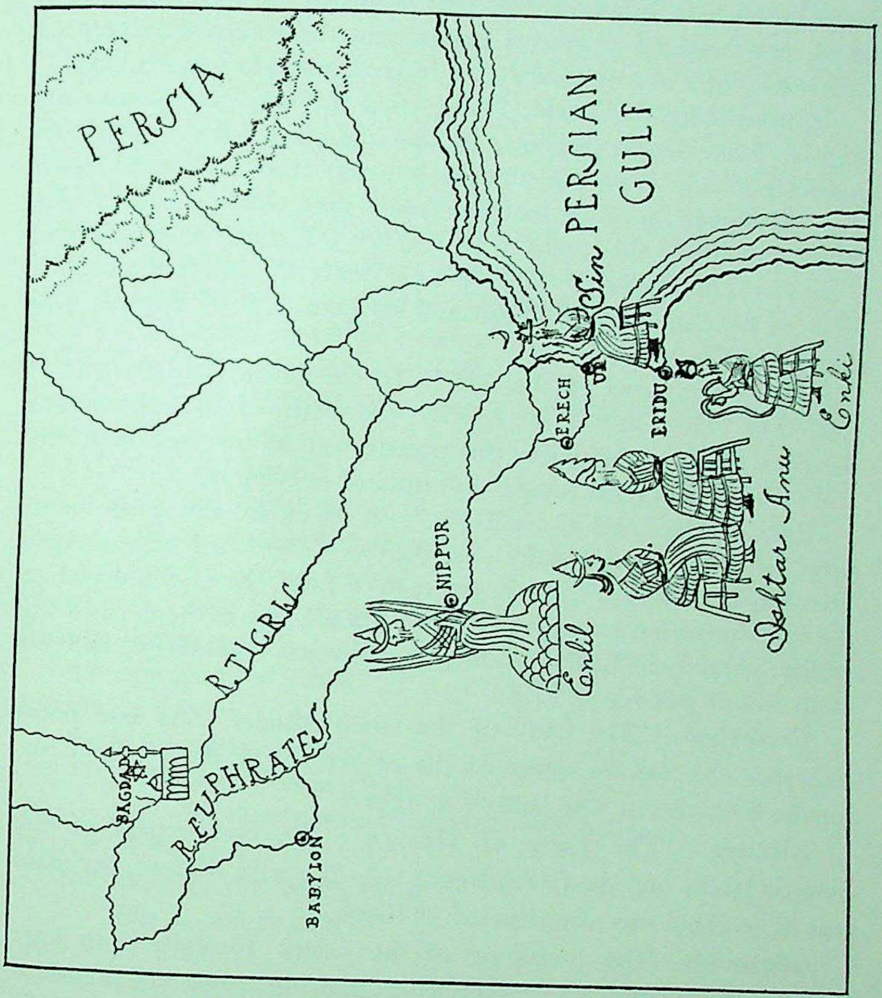
Thus much is clear, that in Egypt, in the pre-Christian era, there was a firm belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, but only those who are purified are thus blessed. And that purification is wrought by the favor of divine beings. These views prevailed, with but little change, for hundreds and even thousands of years. This, be it noted, gives but scanty help to the doctrine of evolution in religion. It suggests that, side by side with all the grotesque and evil mythology of ancient times there were ideas of God and the human soul, probably traditions from an earlier revelation, which found an abiding place in men's hearts and creeds. They are truths which never had been and never can be eradicated from human consciousness. The universal effort has not been so much to establish as to destroy this faith. In spite of all questioning and fears, it has blazed forth in every generation. Wherever civilization has left its records, prominent amongst them has been found the evidence of the recognition of this truth. Earth's oldest monuments are temples and tombs, both of which utter strongly expectation of a life to come. Earth's oldest literature is called "The Book of the Dead." This title was given before its contents were known. The true title should have been that found in its pages, "The Book of Going Out by Day," or the book of resurrection into life on the morning after the night of death. It is assuredly a momentous fact, not sufficiently considered by students of the evolution hypothesis in relation to religion, that the very earliest records of the human race show a belief, not only in the future resurrection of both body and soul, but also in the need of purification to make the future state happy and blessed.

GILGAMESH AND THE WILLOW TREE

BY S. N. KRAMER

THIS remarkable Sumerian poem, so simple and straightforward in articulating its epic contents, has been reconstructed from the texts of five more or less duplicating tablets inscribed in Sumerian cuneiform writing and dated approximately 2000 B.C. All of the tablets come from the southern part of ancient Babylonia (modern Iraq). Four were excavated by an expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, at the end of the nineteenth century, in a mound which covers the ruins of the ancient city of Nippur. These four tablets, however, were so poorly preserved, that their contents remained quite unintelligible. The fifth tablet was discovered at the ancient city of Ur, by a combined expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania, which has been conducting excavations at that site for the past decade. The recent publication of the text of this Ur tablet by Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, has enabled me to piece together the four fragmentary Nippur texts and to restore their contents. The present translation is the result of this restoration.

Sumerian is a non-Semitic language spoken by a people who had invaded Babylonia at some unknown date prior to 3000 B.C. In addition to inventing and developing the cuneiform system of writing, which for many centuries was practically the universal script of the Near East, the Sumerians influenced most profoundly the culture-pattern of the Semitic invaders who later conquered and absorbed them. Although Sumerian became extinct as a spoken language as early as the second half of the third millenium B.C., it continued to be used by the Babylonians in their literary and religious compositions to the very last centuries of the pre-Christian era. It is true, for example, that numerous Babylonian epics have come down to us in several dialects of the Semitic language usually designated as Assyrian. Nevertheless, in translating these epics for the Assyrian dictionary which is being compiled in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, I have found it necessary to utilize continually the Sumerian originals to which almost all of them can be


PERSIA
PERSIAN GULF
R. TIGRIS
R. EUPHRATES
BAGDAD
BABYLON
NIPPUR
ERECH
UR
ERIDU
Sin
Enlil
Ishtar
Anu
Enki

CITIES OF ANCIENT SUMER

traced. Unfortunately, the Sumerian texts, in addition to the linguistic difficulties which they present, are inscribed on tablets that are only too frequently so fragmentary, that the connected sense usually remains obscure. This poem which I have entitled "Gilgamesh and the Willow," is one of the rare and precious exceptions. Even in this case, however, the texts on which the reconstruction is based, are damaged at several points, and the future discovery of additional material may modify the interpretation to some extent.

In translating this poem, I have tried to "hew" as close to the original Sumerian as possible, so that the reader may absorb its essence not only from the contents but also from its formal structure. However, in order that the reader may obtain a clearer idea of the contents of this poem, I append the following brief glossary:

Anu—"The Heaven," "The God of Heaven." He is the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon and his main seat of worship was situated in Erech.

Enlil—"The Lord of the Air." In our poem, however, he is treated as "The Lord of the Earth"; the myths of the wars among the gods which might clarify this transformation, are still unknown. Enlil's most important temple was situated in Nippur.

Enki—"The Lord of the Earth." In the extant Sumerian literature, however, he is usually described as "The Lord of the Apsu (the English 'abyss')." As in the case of Enlil, the myths depicting the transformation are as yet unknown. Enki who is the third of the trinity (Anu-Enlil-Enki) heading the Sumerian pantheon, had his main seat of worship in Eridu.

Ereshkigal—"The Lady of the Great Abode." As our poem indicates, she was the queen of the nether world, described in Sumerian literature as "the land of no return."

Ninanna—"The Lady of Heaven"; the counterpart of the Semitic Ishtar and the Greek Venus. As the wife of Anu, her main seat of worship was also situated in Erech.

Gilgamesh—The prototype of the Greek Hercules. In later Babylonian literature he is described as two-thirds god and one-third man. His deeds and exploits were celebrated in many Sumerian tales and legends. The present poem which tells of his killing "the snake who knows no charm," is the earliest known version of the "Slaying of the Dragon" myth.

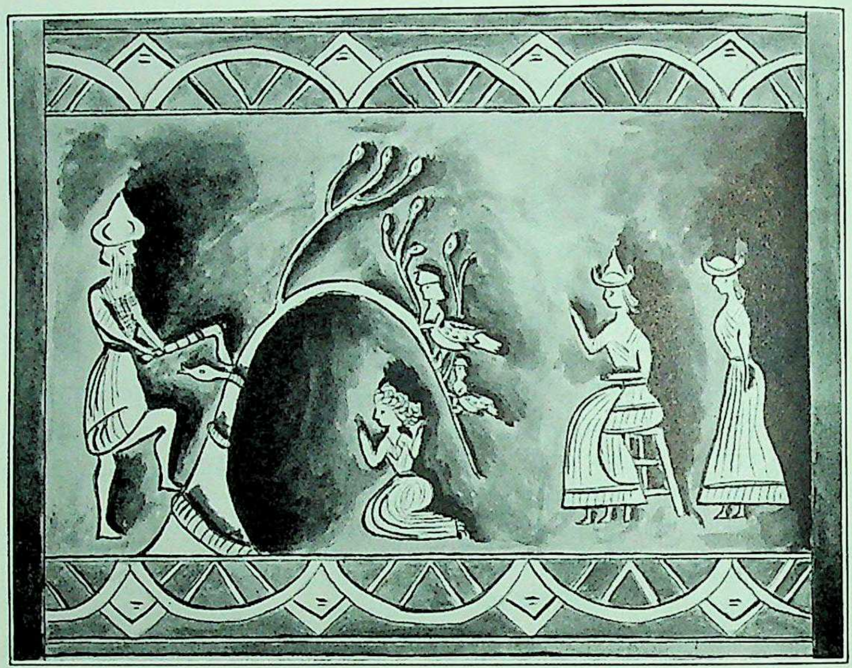
Zu-bird — A creature conceived to be part bird and part man. His irreverent deeds epitomized the spirit of obstinacy and rebellion.

Lillith — A destructive demoness personifying barrenness and everlasting restlessness. While the word "Lillith" came into English as a loan word from the Semitic languages, it is actually of Sumerian origin and its literal meaning is "Maid of the Wind."

GILGAMESH AND THE WILLOW TREE

After heaven had moved away from earth
After earth had separated from heaven
        And the name of man had been ordained
After Anu had carried off the heaven
After Enlil had carried off the earth
        And Ereshkigal to the nether world had been presented
After he had set sail
    after he had set sail
        For the nether world
            the father had set sail
        For the nether world
            Enki had set sail
Because of the lord
    the light winds stormed
Because of Enki
    the heavy winds stormed
        The keel of Enki's boat
            the raging waters covered with foam
Because of the lord
    the water at the boat's prow
        like a jackal attacks
Because of Enki
    the water at the boat's stern
        like a lion strikes down.

On that day
    a tree
    a willow tree
        On the bank of the Euphrates planted
        By the waters of the Euphrates nourished



"HE SMOTE THE SNAKE WHO KNOWS NO CHARM"

Suggested by scenes depicted on seal cylinders from ancient Sumer.
Drawn by Milly Tokarsky.

Fiercely the Southwind
    tore at its roots
    plucked at its branches
The Euphrates
    on its waters carried it away.
A goddess
    at the word of Anu trembling
    at the word of Enlil trembling

Seized the tree in her hand
entered Erech:
"To pure Ninanna's holy garden I bring thee."

The goddess tended the tree with her hand
at her foot she let it stand

Ninanna tended the tree with her hand
at her foot she let it stand:
"When oh when
on a holy throne
shall I sit me down"
she said
"When oh when
on a holy couch
shall I lay me down"
she said.

Five years
ten years had passed
The tree grew big
she dared not cut it down
At its roots the snake who knows no charm built his nest
In its branches the Zu-bird set up his young
In its midst Lillith built her house

The maiden
ever-singing
all hearts rejoicing

Ninanna
the pure lady of heaven
how she weeps and weeps!

At the break of day
as the horizon grew light
The hero Gilgamesh stood by his sister's side

His armor
    fifty talents its weight
        like thirty shekels he fastened at his waist
His bronze axe
    his axe of the road
        his axe of seven talents he seized in his hand
            At its roots he smote the snake who knows no charm
            In its branches the Zu-bird gathered his young
                to the mountain he rose in flight
            In its midst Lillith tore down her house
                to the desert wastes she fled.

The tree
    Gilgamesh tore at its roots
        plucked at its branches
The sons of his city who had accompanied him
    cut down its branches
To pure Ninanna
    for her throne he gives them
    for her couch he gives them.

ELISHA AND THE TWO SHE-BEARS

BY H. S. DARLINGTON

THERE is an odd passage in the Old Testament [1] wherein it is said that two she-bears came to the aid of Elisha when he was taunted by little children for being bald. Because of their unkind remarks Elisha, in the name of the Lord, cursed the impolite little children, whereupon two she-bears came out of the woods, and tore the bodies of forty-two of them. The good prophet was then able to proceed on his way from Bethel to Mount Carmel without further molestation.

On the face of it the story is purely mythical, and Elisha is represented as a heartless monster who by his sorcery called up two savage bears to slaughter the children of a village along his road. In this account we have the cryptic fiction of some secret order of priesthood who were wont to tell the laity of their doings in terms of myth and wonder. In order to seek a point of penetration so as to lift the veil off the body of the tale, it might be feasible, first of all, to give some consideration to the folkloristic significance of hair and the lack of hair.

Now, Elisha was the understudy of Elijah who is said to have been a "hairy man" and to have worn a garment of hair, or possibly the pelt of some shaggy haired animal such as that of the bear or the lion. Elijah probably belonged to some order of shamans who vowed never to cut the hair off their heads and faces, lest the power they received from the spirit they served should forsake them. One such order of priests was known as the Nazarites; and Samson of the famous locks was a member of this society. His "power" or strength was contingent upon his retention of his long locks, for when they were cut he was weak. In other words, there is supposed to be some manner of power in hair itself. However, that notion is a folkloristic one, for the rational minds of men inform them through practical experience of the fact that hair in itself has no more power or strength than in a thread of similar diameter.

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[1] II Kings ii: 23-24.

The foregoing consideration should reveal to us that the mythical kind of "hair" in which there is great power, is not truly hair at all; but in some particular use or appearance it may bear a likeness to hair. A streak of lightning descending to the earth has much the suggestion about it of a red hair, or of a hair on fire; and in such a "hair" there is indeed great power or strength. Consider, for example, the Maidu belief: When a tree had been struck by lightning they believed that a hair was to be found there, but that nobody but a doctor could discover it. The doctor, or medicine man, kept the hair and later, when need arose, burned it to cause rain. Only a doctor could safely approach a tree that had been struck by lightning.[2] If we but give a moment's consideration to this Maidu bit of folklore, we observe that the doctors made the people believe that they had uncanny sight to find the lightning hair of fire that had entered a tree and had become invisible to ordinary eyes. When such a wonderful hair is again set on fire it is transformed once more into lightning which serves then to cause a rainfall. The doctor tells his patients that the power of the lightning cannot harm him for he has been adopted or initiated as a "son" of the god Thunder. In such a case the shaman is a "little Thunder" and can function in rain-making just as the deity in the cloud customarily does. But, in that case the human being who has been initiated into some order, or into some school of medicine men, should have about his person some evidence of hairiness, for hair is potential lightning, hence strength of a mystical kind. The man who has been adopted by Thunder and is, therefore, immune to lightning, with which the lodge of Thunder is filled, should not only be long haired and long bearded, but also should ordinarily wear a garment of hair. A shaggy bearskin ought to lend its potential lightning-strength to the wearer if he has been initiated into the secrets of Thunder, the shamanistic "father" of the wonderful but hidden lodge in the dark stormy cloud. In the end or at death the more advanced of the priests who worship the Thunderer shoot upwards from this earth and enter a storm-cloud where, seemingly, they become one with their deity. Such was the fate of Elijah, but Elisha was buried as a thunderstone in the earth.

In America, the Pawnee tell a myth about a wonderful boy who climbed a tree at which he saw the lightning striking. In the crotch or in a hollow of the tree he found certain strange beings. He pulled out a human being painted red, wearing a buffalo robe and having a black lariat tied round his waist. This being said his name was Thunder. The boy pulled out another being who was Lightning, and then another called Loud Thunder, and lastly Wonderful Lightning.[3]

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[2] P. L. Faye, "Notes on the Southern Maidu," Univ. Calif. Anthro. Series, Vol. XX, 1923, p. 53.

In this instance we find that Thunder or Lightning wears a buffalo robe, that is, a shaggy covering of hair. The lariat is one braided from hair of the mane or tail of a black horse, and is, as it were, the very soul of the lightning. This hairy robe and the lariat were transformations of the lightning shafts that entered the tree.

The Tillamook[4] tell of a fisherman who went up the river to catch salmon. He heard a bird calling him. It was the Thunderbird, who transformed into a man wearing a bearskin. Thunder was heard as often as this strange person shook the bearskin. This Thunderbird took the man away to his whale-skin lodge where he kept him for a year.

Plainly enough, this instance shows us that the Thunderer wears a bearskin robe, or he transforms into a bear. The man he initiates, into his whale-skin lodge and its secrets, is the doctor who is made a "son" of the "father" who owns the lodge. That is, the initiate is made over into the likeness of the master of the lodge, as a son is like his father. In this case the kidnapped man was made into a priest of Thunder before he was returned to his people to practise healing and divination. The rumbling sound in a storm-cloud is the growling of the bear. Bears and storm-clouds hover round the tops of the mountains, and both at times, literally will roll down the slopes of the mountain. The teeth and claws of the bear are considered to be the "thunderstones" with which Thunder does his destructive mischief.

The priest of Thunder is assimilated to Thunder and, therefore, should have long hair and an uncut beard, for in his hair lies his power and the strength of his magic which makes the dead come to life. The notion that lightning can restore the dead, or that a priest as a little Thunderer can bring the dead into activity again, seems to be due to the fact that after the spring thunderstorms, wherein the gardens and fields are struck with the shaft or rod of Thunder, all nature which seems dead all winter comes again into life and beauty. One can readily see that Thunder himself would be greatly insulted if he were reproached for being bald-headed, for that would mean that he was powerless, and could strike down nobody with his shafts of fiery hair. Similarly, the priests of Thunder would feel insulted if called bald-headed, for it would be the same as saying that they were quack doctors with no ability to heal the sick, restore the dead, to cause the rain, or to perform magical deeds and clueless murders.

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[3] G. A. Dorsey, *The Pawnee* (*Mythology*), I, Carnegie Inst. 1906, p. 149.

[4] Franz Boas, "Notes on the Tillamook," Univ. Calif. Anthro. Series. Vol. XX, 1923, p. 13.

The Nisenan, a Californian tribe, say that Thunder is always moving from place to place, and can be seen at times crossing the sky during storms. He hears everything, hence one must be careful in speech, for it is particularly dangerous to curse him. He only kills wrong-doers, however. On a certain occasion when a drunken man lay in the round brush-house trying to sleep off his debauch, Thunder happened to rumble a little, whereupon the drunken man cursed him, shot a gun at him, and called him "bald-headed." Thunder, being incensed at this, determined to punish the man, but not to kill him. Thereupon he struck the man slightly, burning him a little, and rolled him over in the dirt. Thunder covered with smoke then arose from the brush lodge and ascended like a balloon. From his higher position he then rumbled and banged away again. The drunken man was cured of his tendency to curse Thunder and ever afterwards when storms arose he hid from Thunder.[5]

This, then is the parallel instance we are seeking, for here the insulted Thunder strikes his detractors with fiery shafts of lightning. Now, if Thunder had a priest who was wearing a bear's robe, or two such robes, it might well enough be said that a bear or two bears came forth from the darkness of the wooded distance, and attacked and tore the man who called Thunder "bald-headed."

Elisha probably had two bear skins, for no doubt he had one of his own, besides Elijah's. The moment that Elijah ascended into the cloud when grasped by the hand of Lightning or Thunder, he let his hairy mantle fall upon the shoulders of his successor, Elisha. Therefore, it seems probable that Elisha had a "double portion" of the Thunder-spirit upon him, even as he so wished to have. This double portion took the form of two bears, or two she-bears when called into manifestation before ordinary men at the moment Elisha turned about and cursed the little children who ridiculed him. Elisha showed them that he could function not only as a "Little Thunder," but as a "Double Thunder," and could strike them down with lightning shafts which he could direct with the omnipotence of his mind, for he was an adopted "son" of the Grand Master of the Thunder-lodge. The lodge is practically always considered to be a mother, hence the cloud as a "bear" is a "she-bear," for the cloud is also the lodge, or the wife of the Grand Master. The lodge-mother gives birth to her sons when fully initiated, and thus they would be cub-bears if the cloud is a bear. The father is the genius of the storm, and is commonly called Thunder because of his ability to speak in loud tones, rather than to be called Lightning because of his brilliance.

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[5] R. L. Beals, "Ethnology of the Nisenan," Univ. Calif. Anthro. Series, Vol. XXXI, pp. 381-383.

A thunder-priest usually makes claim to being able to make the rain fall when it is wanted. Elijah is represented as a rain-maker who won a contest in opposition to the priests of Baal. He brought the lightning as fire down from heaven upon the altar of sacrifice, and on Mount Carmel he brought on a veritable flood after a protracted drouth. Elisha seems not to figure so much as a rain-maker, but no doubt he could have opened the floodgates of heaven had he desired. A bald-headed man could not possibly have brought the rain, for the rain may be thought of as coming with a thunderstorm when red hairs are seen as lightning streaks between the clouds and the earth. There is, therefore, some real hard sense in the Baganda law that banishes all bald-headed persons to the special province of Kitongole where they are doomed to stay until their hair grows again.[6] These bald-headed people evidently interfere with the needed rains and the field crops.

At the time Elisha was taunted by the little children he had just come from the Jordan where he witnessed the ascension of Elijah into the cloud. This is to be taken as a symbolic way of saying that the body of the dead or slain Elijah was sent up to the clouds in the smoke of his funeral pyre. Elisha was, therefore, in mourning for his immediate master, and accordingly, after the custom of the Jews, would "make a bald spot between his eyes." That is he would have torn out some of the hair on the fore part of his head as a sign of mourning. Probably he was not actually bald, for he would no doubt have been so superstitious that he would not have believed in his own powers if he were truly bald all over the top of his head. It would have meant to him that Thunder whom he called Yahveh, had wholly abandoned him.

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[6] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, London 1905, p. 234.

The prophets of Yahveh seem to have had colleges or lodges at Carmel, at Bethel, at Jericho, and at Gilgal. Probably there was one across the Jordan at the place where Elijah died and was cremated. Formerly there had been a lodge at Bethel, but apparently at the time Elisha walked the road past that town, there was no lodge of Yahveh there, but on the other hand, a lodge of priests of Baal and Astarte. Leaving Jericho, Elisha had come to Bethel where the hostile "little children" mocked him by calling him "baldheaded." These "little children" were grown men, for they were the "sons" of the "father priest" or the prophet who had charge of the lodge and college of Baal. These men as shamans of a rival order and a rival deity knew that he was telling the laymen that a miracle had occurred and that Elijah had not really died at all. They knew the esoteric meaning of the tale, for they also used similar stories to keep their laymen mystified. These "sons" of the prophet are also to be viewed as his "little children." One finds that Paul liked to pose as the "father" of his congregation and refer to his converts as "little children."

And just as Elijah before him showed the prophets of Baal how much greater Yahveh was than Baal as a dropper-down of lightning, and sender of rain, so now Elisha resolved to show these unseemly students of the mysteries of Baal how powerful he and his Thunder-deity were. He turned about in the road and cursed the little children with the result that two she-bears rushed out of the woods and tore forty-two of them. If they were strong in their assimilation to the Thunder deity, they could not have been injured by the lightning, and the storm-bears would have caressed them instead of tearing them. Thus was Elisha vindicated; and to himself he had proved that Yahveh does not abandon his shamans when, in mourning for a rain-priest, they have made a bald spot between their eyes.

The words of the taunters were: "Go up you baldhead, go up you baldhead." By this expression they did not mean that he should continue on his way up Mount Carmel, for rather they meant that he should try to do what Elijah had just done — ascend to heaven. These sons of the prophet, as initiates to the mysteries of Baal and Astarte, knew of the hoax in the ascent of Elijah, and were suggesting to Elisha that he, too, ought to be slain and burned on a pyre so that his smoke might go up as an offering to the nostrils of Yahveh. They knew that lightning was supposed to have taken Elijah up, and that a bald man could not reasonably lay claim to having any ability to rise into the clouds, for he lacked lightning power.

There crops up the question why the number forty-two is specifically given as the number of students in the college at Bethel, all of whom are supposed to have been struck by lightning? Could it be that the acceptable and maximum number of students or brothers in a shamanistic training school, under the tutelage of a fatherly priest, was set at forty-two? If so, perhaps the idea arose in Egypt, where Osiris as the father of men, and the slain god, is said to have been cut up into a number of fragments. Commonly he was divided into fourteen but others say sixteen, and still another account says forty-two. One of these fragments was supposed to have been preserved in each of the principal temples. These forty-two temples were located in the forty-two nomes or districts of the land. Although Osiris was dismembered it was believed that he would be resurrected when all forty-two parts came to a coalescence or integration whereby his spiritual body, rather than his material body, would be reconstituted, and a new Unity achieved. No doubt there was a priest for each of the forty-two temples and the forty-two fragments. If these men met in secret conclave at times, in a secret hall of initiation, they would figuratively at least have restored Osiris to cosmic-functioning again. In Christian terms where one or two are gathered together there the Christ will be; so it seems the Egyptians believed that in the assembly of forty-two priests as parts of the total spirit of the slain deity, the godhead in perfection would be reëstablished. Every soul seeking union with Osiris had to be tried before forty-two judges who assisted Osiris, and these it seems are the brothers of a fraternity who pass on the character of the candidate for initiation into the ultimate mysteries of the god and of the doctrine of unity with him. Hence from Egypt, probably came the notion of having forty-two students or brothers in a fully constituted lodge of rain-makers.

In summary: The forty-two children torn by the two she-bears, were priestly brothers in an initiation school for doctors who sought for adoption by Thunder, but who knew him as Baal instead of by his "true" name Yahveh. Elisha as a partly bald man called up a thunder-storm, and the lightning struck the false "sons of the prophet." This in itself was a wonder, for a bald man should not normally have any power at all to provoke a thunderstorm. Thus, Elisha was an exceptional priest and Yahveh an exceptional Thunderer.

SCIENCE AND REALITY

BY T. SWANN HARDING

SCIENTISTS themselves, and even those buck privates who form the rear of the scientific profession, are alternately praised or blamed for being materialists. At best it is said they deal with stark reality, they get down to basic things, and definitely make contact with the fundamental, material stuffs composing the universe about us. Many people, fretful because they feel somehow detached from reality—often they are economists or sociologists—will congratulate workers in physical and biological sciences because they truly know reality.

That attitude is so often expressed that one begins to wonder and wondering, it seems best to consult some of our greatest scientists to discover how they felt about reality. What is the opinion of such men as Einstein and Heisenberg on this matter? Then, returning to the sturdy routine workers who perform the humdrum jobs in research laboratories without which great discoveries could never occur, what is the experience of lowlier laboratory workers? What is real under the microscope? What is real out there in the sky?

Here is a scientific article on star counting. It is illustrated by photographs. One series of photographs depicts the same patch of sky as seen using telescopes of increasing power. The first picture represents what can be seen with a lens that renders only stars of the twelfth magnitude clearly visible. The second, third, and fourth pictures show the enormously increasing number of stars that appear to exist when stronger glasses bring stars of the fifteenth, eighteenth, and twentieth magnitude to visibility.

The ancients saw the stars with the naked eye. In that way one can count about six thousand of them and one then sees stars of only the first to sixth magnitudes. Stars of the first magnitude are a hundred million times brighter than those of the sixth magnitude. It is practically impossible to count all the stars in the sky as seen by our most powerful telescopes; they run into hundreds of millions. Therefore, counts are made in restricted areas of the sky, and these are assumed representative of the whole.

All right then: What is the reality here—the few thousand stars seen by the naked eye or the countless millions seen by the aided eye? Or is the true reality what might be seen through a glass of infinite power that would bring in all the stars? Or is it the actual conditions there millions of light years out in space, conditions we can never experience in the sense that we experience things that happen in the same room or on the same earth with us?

We may leave the sky and consider a razor blade. We marvel at its smooth edge. It feels and it looks smooth. We examine it under the microscope and it is rough and jagged. What is the reality about it?

Here is some salt on the table. We use it to season food. We can get all we want very cheaply and it means little to us, but we read that salt is rare and difficult to obtain in certain parts of the world and is there esteemed highly as a great delicacy. What is the reality about this common salt?

A chemist takes it to his laboratory. By appropriate means he breaks it down. He shows us a soft, bright metal that can be cut with a penknife and which, when thrown on water, spontaneously bursts into flames. He shows us a queer greenish gas which makes us cough if we try to breathe it. He says the metal is sodium and the gas chlorine and that the common table salt is really composed of them.

Is it really, we ask? What trace of that soft explosive metal and that green gas is there to be found in this white powder, common table salt? If sodium and chlorine exist in the salt it is obvious they must reside there as their own proper selves, at least that is the only way we could recognize them. The chemist says that common salt ($NaCl$) equals sodium (Na) plus chlorine (Cl). What does he mean by equals?

Turn to another problem, that of lead in food. Lead is a poison. If quantities of it remain in fresh fruits and vegetables after they have been sprayed to rid them of insects the foods may be toxic to human beings. Yet certain small traces of lead are not toxic; poison experts are agreed that the body can throw these off without damage. Also certain foods contain no lead—at least that is the report in a certain year.

A year or two passes and it is now reported that practically every food contains some minute trace of lead. None are exempt. What has happened? A new and more refined method of chemically determining lead has been invented. Foods that appeared to contain no lead when the old method was used can now be shown to contain it by this new and very delicate method. What is reality then? Isn't it a function of the current refinement of instruments and methods? What else?

Laboratory experience is often disconcerting and humbling. Any number of times I have thought I had really proved what had not been proved at all. Any number of times I have truly "seen" certain experiments turn out as my preconceptions told me they should turn out when improvement in methods or better instruments, or a chance inexplicable test which changed my preconception, soon made me "see" the reverse quite as plainly.

At one time I worked for some years upon what I sincerely supposed to be one compound in the blood which proved later to be quite another. What happened later was still more striking. The man who originally discovered the second compound, and who had also reported synthesizing, or building it up, from its simpler constituents, was wrong about its constitution. In the end it was discovered that three different biological chemists in three different countries had been working for some years in the effort to make a nonexistent substance!

Certainly the reality that the scientists apprehend differs from that the ordinary run of us experience simply because he uses different methods and instruments, as well as a different background of knowledge, in analyzing and examining the data of experience. What the scientist regards as real today depends upon the state of his knowledge, the refinement of his instruments, and the perfection of his methods. Change any of these factors and he will of necessity announce a new reality tomorrow.

Moreover the scientist, like other human beings, is animated by certain desires. For instance he prefers a monistic to a dualistic universe. He prefers a certain continuity in the phenomena of nature. He does not like to countenance arbitrary breaks in natural phenomena and often says nature makes no sudden leaps. He assumes that objects in some way persist and maintain their identity, though he can not prove this.

What is the identity of a glass of water? The water depends for its shape and contour upon the nature of the glass. But what is more, its molecules are assumed to be in a state of perpetual motion at tremendous speeds. At the top certain molecules are continually shot off into space and become water vapor. Hence the glass of water does not persist as such from one second to the next though the scientist has to assume that it does.

The scientist also expects to find a certain simplicity and economy in the explanation of natural events, and he holds that the simplest and most economical explanatoin is therefore the truest—a piece of pure metaphysics. He tried to build such systems as will predict future consequences accurately and he requires some sort of "stuff"—atoms or what you will—with which to build. He holds to the theories of the uniformity of nature, the existence of determinism in nature, and the validity of inductive generalization.

Like the rest of us, the scientist feels that when his expectations have been fulfilled he is on the right path, and there is comfort in that. At one time the universe made up of hard little billard-ball atoms seemed to fulfill these expectations, along with the fiction of potential energy—precisely enough fictioned potential energy being created to enable the system to preserve its total energy and thus satisfy the so-called law of the conservation of energy. But those things have passed away. They are no longer real.

Atoms were invented to explain certain things scientists observed in their laboratories, but they eventually assumed a suppositious reality and in some mysterious way seemed to become more real than the facts they were invented to explain. The same holds for our more modern electrons, protons, and other particles, as well as for genes and cells in biology. These things are constructs, not realities, yet leading scientists often appear to feel as if they were very real.

However, it is said that the scientist "verifies" his assumptions. What does this consist in? The scientist determines whether the consequences deduced from his hypothesis are or are not contradicted by his observations of nature. If the hypothesis can not be verified it is excluded ruthlessly, for science is interested not in truth as a whole but only in technically verified truths.

The only facts that have standing in science as it is are those that fit into its current pattern of truth. The hypotheses of science are indeed verified by the facts observed, but it must be remembered that the only facts considered valid to verify the hypothesis are those not too obviously in conflict therewith. Hence scientific laws and the facts of nature form a mutual verification society.

Upon what do the judgments of science depend? Upon a mere half dozen factors. There are first, judgments of perception such as: The rabbit is white. Second, there is the belief in the existence of an external world, fundamental but incapable of proof. Third, there is the belief in the trustworthiness of memory, and we all know how little reliance can be placed here. Fourth, there is the belief in the existence of other selves which are, by and large, like ourselves, also fundamental but incapable of proof. Fifth, there are such self-evident analytical judgments as one foot equals twelve inches, axioms agreed upon by definition but having nothing whatever to do with the events of nature or with what ordinary people regard as reality. Sixth, and last, there are synthetic propositions concerning the relations between universals—such as black is different from white. Upon these factors the whole fabric of science rests.

As a result all science becomes a highly personal and subjective affair. It used to be said that the social sciences were not truly scientific because the investigator could not be objective; he himself formed part of his object of study. This is now seen to be true of the biological and physical sciences as well. It is true to such an extent that in *Science Progress* for October 1932 Prof. G. B. Brown produced two or three pages of delightful humor on the subject—for the elect and initiated.

Herein he depicted such great scientists as Einstein, Sir J. J. Thompson, Lord Rutherford, Sir Arthur Eddington, Dirac, and Heisenberg as each building his own peculiar little structure of highly personal physics. Some, like Schrödinger and de Broglie, were represented as living in rows of huts. Einstein was described as standing at the entrance to a cave and facing a cliff of solid rock, a little undecided just what to do.

Then, what is the opinion of such a man about reality? That should be more important than almost anything else. I sought to find out, and in his Herbert Spencer Lecture "On the Method of Theoretical Physics," delivered at Oxford University June 10, 1933, Einstein delivered himself of his opinion. The lecture started with the thought just mentioned above, subjectivity in physical science. For Einstein began by saying that a man's "view of the past and present history of his subject is likely to be unduly influenced by what he expects from the future and what he is trying to realize today." Our own Prof. P. W. Bridgman expressed a similar idea some years ago when he wrote that "the chances are, therefore, that the relations between phenomena will be found by those who are previously convinced that the relations exist."

This idea that the beliefs of the physical scientist determine the kind of science he develops is not new. In the last article of the late Viscount Haldane published in this country, in 1928, he declared that all science had been driven back upon mind as the only basis upon which explanations were available. In discussing "Reality in Physics" before the American Physical Society, late in 1931, Dr. W. F. G. Swann described reality as "the most alluring of courtesans, for she makes herself what you would have her at the moment."

In his address delivered as President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1934 Sir James H. Jeans said that "in the old physics the perceiving mind was a spectator; in the new it is an actor. Nature no longer forms a closed system detached from the perceiving mind; the perceiver and the perceived are interacting parts of a single system." We may accept it as fundamental in modern scientific thought that the mind determines the type of reality the physical or other scientists claim to perceive.

Einstein, in the address we were following, continued that pure logical thinking could give us no knowledge whatever of the world of experience, conclusions reached by such processes being entirely empty so far as reality is concerned. However, modern theoretical physics consists of certain basic concepts, which are purely invented fictions, related together logically by laws, from which certain consequences are deduced logically. The experiences and observations of the scientist must conform to these theoretically deduced consequences, otherwise the system is faulty.

Reason supplies the structure of modern science and experience produces the data. Science differs from a geometry like Euclid's in that Euclid made no direct attempt to relate the consequences of his logical theory to the experiences of reality. Hence, in modern science, a fact is worth nothing until it is sustained by a good theory, but the whole structure is, Einstein says, founded on "certain basic concepts and laws which are not logically further deducible." These indispensable concepts are merely assumed "true" as were the axioms in our school geometries.

Therefore, unproven assumptions underlie all science and the character of any science depends largely upon the character of the assumptions regarded as true in the first place. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, however, scientists did not realize the purely fictitious character of their basic principles. Newton, for instance, believed that he developed his basic principles about space, time, mass, force, acceleration, etc. directly from experience.

While Newton was rendered a bit uneasy by his idea of absolute space (because it involved the idea of absolute rest and he could find no body at absolute rest) he did not suppose his basic concepts to be "free inventions of the human mind," as Einstein puts it. Einstein and his coworkers, however, accepted the idea that the basic postulates were freely invented and declared that "the fictitious character of the principles is made quite obvious by the fact that it is possible to exhibit two essentially different bases, each of which in its consequences leads to a large measure of agreement with experience."

It is well, of course, for science to diminish the number and increase the simplicity of its basic concepts, but there is then an ever-widening gap between the axioms and the consequences. The widening of that gap worries modern physicists a great deal, Einstein admits. Then, he asks, has a scientist any reason to hope that they will find what he calls "the correct way" in time. His answer to his own question is:

"To this I answer with complete assurance that in my opinion there is *the* (his own italics) correct path and, moreover, that it is in our power to find it. Our experience up to date justifies us in feeling sure that in Nature is actualized the ideal of mathematical simplicity. It is my conviction that pure mathematical construction enabled us to discover the concepts and laws connecting them which give us the key to the understanding of the phenomena of Nature."

That is all. We may achieve understanding, but never direct knowledge of some one absolute reality. Experience must still guide us in the choice of the mathematical concepts to be used, though it must not be the source of their derivation. "The truly creative principle resides in mathematics." Moreover Einstein is a strong believer in simplicity in Nature, a belief which, we must remember, determines the character of the science he will evolve and espouse. He demands that science at all times search "for the mathematically simplest concepts and connexions of them" and in the very paucity of the possible concepts and relations he sees "justification for the theorist's hope that he may comprehend reality in its depths."

None the less the reality so comprehended and expressed in formidable equations would differ enormously from what the average person regards as reality. The detailed picture of space and time made familiar to us by the older physicists would vanish utterly. Instead we should have a group of impressive mathematical formulae which can not be pictured. These new concepts can not be reduced to the old terms nor visualized by use of the old pictures of reality.

The theory that mathematics will ultimately explain the universe is a metaphysical theory, of course, though it is the very heart of modern scientific explanations. Ultimate reality and causal efficacy are ascribed to mathematics, and this world is then identified as best it may be with the realm of material bodies moving in what we naively call space and time. This Einsteinian world is not one of stuffs or substances possessing certain qualities experienced by human beings. It is a world of purely mathematical electrons which move in accord with fixed mathematical laws. Is this reality?

Here is an ethereal stratosphere of four-dimensional continuums, Riemannian metrics, vector-fields, anti-symmetrical tensor-vector-fields, and spinor field quantities. All of this is very remote from our daily life. Even quite expert scientists may become somewhat awed by this hypnotic nomenclature. Yet the results obtained mathematically depend for their validity upon the number and quantity of the data available, or upon the number of observations that happen to have been made at the time the predicting calculations were carried on.

For instance, both Neptune and the trans-Neptunian planet were found as predicted simply because the limited number of inaccurate observations used by Leverrier and Lowell in their calculations happened by the merest chance to give a result that was later verified. Had either prophet had more reliable data, or had the observations existed in greater number, their predictions would have been completely falsified. So it is through all mathematics.

When a scientist weighs a crucible on his balance, takes a reading on a colorimeter or polariscope, measures electric current by observing a pointer—and practically all science consists merely in observing pointer readings—he must finally arrive at a figure he calls "correct." That is the average of a series of five, ten, or twenty weighings or readings. It very often is not precisely the same figure as that for any one real weighing or reading, yet this purely mathematical average is announced as the correct value.

Then what is the reality the scientist discovers? It depends not only upon his original choice of basic concepts and his personal beliefs, but also upon the quantity of data at hand. It is manifestly certain that a chemist will not get exactly the same value when he weighs a crucible five times and averages these weighings as when he weighs it twenty-five times and averages those weighings. It is just as obvious that a rather unusually erroneous weighing will bulk more heavily in the first average than in the second.

Hence mathematics is treacherous. It can not give us the inner nature of real reality. It gives us a sort of austere mathematical reality—a reality of averages, equations, and abstract concepts. This is, however, the present chosen reality of modern physics and of physical science generally. It fixes the pattern of science and, as we saw earlier, that pattern determines the facts science will accept, just as it is determined by the facts science has accepted.

For instance, it happens to be true that every major observation of the speed of light that has been made since 1902 has given a slightly smaller result than the previous observation. It would seem logical to conclude, therefore, that the speed of light in miles per second is really diminishing, but the scientists conclude no such thing. The pattern of modern physics demands that the speed of light remain absolutely fixed, hence irregularities are attributed to "experimental error."

Charles Peirce, noted American scientist and philosopher, went so far as to suggest accepting the actual results in the case of any scientific experiment, rather than having resort to averages. He was bothered by the scientist's pet alibi, "experimental error," and said why not assume that the individual results are correct and that all scientific findings forever oscillate around purely theoretical and fictioned fixed points? His heretical suggestion has been largely ignored by science.

Consequently science continues to accept as "real" that which its current pattern regards as real, no more no less. The chemist accepts as the result of his analysis the average of twenty weighings on his refined balance, not the result—the actual, true, real, experimental result, that is—of a single weighing. Physical reality is reduced to a set of equations, the electrons themselves have become disembodied ghosts or near wave forms in four-dimensional space-time, and statistical averages rule dictatorially over all.

Speaking in Germany in the fall of 1934 Prof. W. Heisenberg, noted physicist and discoverer of the so-called principle of indeterminacy, remarked that the old physics which dealt with the behavior of real entities in space and their real variations with time was no more. The old view that "the occurrence of events in time and space is independent of observation" is gone forever. The concepts of absolute time and of determinacy have no place in the new cosmic physics, however useful they still are in certain limited fields such as mechanics, optics, or thermo-dynamics, where they remain as unaltered as did the geography of the Mediterranean Basin after the voyages of Columbus and Magellan.

Heinsenberg very plainly said: "Thus Nature influences modern natural science more than the earlier form in such a way as to place the old question of realization of reality upon a new basis and to answer it in a new manner. Previously the pattern of exact science led to a philosophical system in which a definite truth—perhaps the 'Cogito, ergo sum,' of Descartes—was the starting point from which all problems of world-view were to be attacked. Nature in modern physics has reminded us clearly, however, that we may not hope to reach the entire region of the understandable from such a fixed basis of operation."

If any science should give us what we formerly regarded as reality it should be physics. But what have we found? Physics is a system of symbolic construction. It starts with definite facts that can be perceived but which are too gross for its immediate acceptance. Its pattern will not admit these crude data. So it proceeds next to work in a highly theoretical field where many things are imperceptible and where there is great freedom from the restraints of experience. Thereafter it returns to the facts of nature to check up.

A physicist sees, for instance, the deflections of a pointer on an ammeter and notes that these change in certain ways when he adds more wire to the electrical circuit. He then retires to his chamber of speculations and invents entities he has never observed in order to explain these facts, *i.e.*, to make them intelligible to him in terms of his thought pattern, for he believes he has perceived similar things in similar but really quite different connections.

He calls these invented entities "electric current," "resistance," "electromotive force," though he admits their properties are merely assumed by definition, and they are useful merely because of their symbolic character, and of the relations into which they can enter. He derives a law, such as Ohm's Law, which no real electric current ever does follow exactly. He deduces certain consequences that should occur if this law were approximately true, then he returns to the world of experience to see what he can see.

If the law is not verified it is false, though if it is verified that does not prove it true—it proves merely that it held true in the particular tests made. In making these tests, the physicist says he is measuring current, resistance, and electromotive force. He makes his fiction of the electric current still more definite by imagining streams of fictioned particles going through wires like molecules of water down between river banks, and he calls these particles electrons.

He next thinks of these particles as being charged with electricity and, finally, of producing effects (like cloud tracks) which can be detected by the eye. Yet the electrons are never objects of perception. They are not part of nature, though by using such concepts the physicist can make correct statements about matters of fact that can be perceived in nature. The whole field of symbolic construction of physics is thus filled with masses, forces, electrons, and so forth, but the reality we are searching does not appear.

It never does appear anywhere in science where materialism is outmoded. For science and what the average person regards as reality have parted company, and it looks as if the divorce were absolute and final.

BOOK NOTES

Mencius. Translated by Leonard A. Lyall. Longmans Green & Company. New York, 1932. Pp. 277.

Mencius lived in China at a time when the power of the empire was weak, and the suffering caused by warfare and tyranny of the feudal kings was great. He saw deep into the hearts of the people and collected doctrines from older literature and sayings, approaching national problems realistically, always with an understanding of man's intellectual and moral nature as basis. Though his doctrines upheld the traditional Chinese Society, he accepted the ancient right of the people to revolt against an evil sovereign, and insisted the duty of king was to rule in the interests of the people. "If a prince is benevolent all is benevolent." Feelings, thought, and activity, he found a universal attribute of mankind, and that wisdom and kindness come from within. Individual responsibility is emphasized again and again—reform through the reform of the individual.

How deeply the effect of this social philosophy of the potentiality of the individual is engrained in Chinese thought, can be seen in the way she is now slowly building from the bottom up.

China, however, though accustomed to ideas of communism from her great family system, seems to be emerging now towards a more individualistic system. The continuity of her mental and cultural civilization is still a reality.

Mencius followed the teachings of Confucius. His approach to national problems was psychological and based on his analysis of the individual.

The excellent and direct translation of Mr. Lyall, with the humor and imagination of the original preserved, makes interesting reading, although the teachings of Mencius are scattered and difficult to follow.

Book xiv, Chapters xi, xii, xiii.

Mencius said, A man that loves fame can give up a land of a thousand cars; but if he is not the man to give things up, it will show in his face over a bowl of rice or pea soup.

Mencius said, Without faith in love and worth the land is empty and hollow. Without good form and right, high and low are confounded. Without rule and order there is not enough money for use.

Mencius said, Lands have been won without love, but all below heaven was never won without love.

Japan's Policies and Purposes. By Hirosi Saito. Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1935. Pp. 231.

Mr. Saito speaks with knowledge as well as authority on the policies and purposes of his country. This volume is composed of a selection of addresses and writings by the Ambassador which contain a consistent interpretation and which explains the Japanese point of view of many happenings which puzzle Americans, such as her relations with China in Manchukuo and her foreign trade policies.

A History of Western Civilization. By Harry Elmer Barnes with the collaboration of Henry David. Vol. I. New York, Harcourt Brace and Co., 1935. Pp. xxvi, 911.

Two main convictions of the author have guided his history of the institutions and culture of the western world—making it a contribution to the "so-called new history,"—namely, that it should be grounded in "biology, anthropology, archaeology, and sociology as well in political, legal, and military history," and that it should tell the "whole story of human development." Though free from moralistic missions the author feels that the significance of a history lies in its power of understanding the present and pointing towards a better future.

The Supreme Law. By Maurice Maeterlink. Translated from the French by K. S. Shevankar. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1935. Pp. 160.

Maurice Maeterlink, poet and mystic, in his latest work, describes his attitude toward life and science. He is not willing to discard the work of Newton for the Einstein theory of relativity, but finds "that men have plunged farther into the dark because they have searched for light more avidly. It is with gravitation as with all the other great problems of the world . . . but an instinct whispers to us that these obscurities are more fertile than the trivial clarities which cradle self-complacent ignorance."

A Search in Secret India. By Paul Brunton. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1935. Pp. 312.

"A quest," says Sir Francis Younghusband in his Foreword, "for that India which is only secret because it is so sacred." The author portrays vividly the numerous magicians, yogi, and holy men against characteristic features of Indian background. Finally under the guidance of the Maharashee of the Holy Hill of the Beacon, he experiences spiritual enlightenment with its transcendent bliss and peace, and a realization of the significance of life.

The Church of Christ and the Problems of the Day. By Karl Heim. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935. Pp. xii, 132.

Professor Karl Heim, Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen, delivered the 1935 James Sprunt Lectures at the Union Theological Seminary of Richmond, Va., which appear in this volume. They consist in a discussion of the position of the church today from the orthodox Evangelical point of view. The church is threatened with being crushed between the two great forces of Communism and Nationalism, each of which is a faith and way of life as well as a political organization. The author makes an inspired plea for the validity of the acceptance of Jesus, the reality of sin and the reality of the Atonement, the power of prayer and the vital importance of the Resurrection.

The Early Philosophers of Greece. By Matthew Thompson McClure. With translations by Richmond Lattimore. New York, D. Appleton Century Co., Inc., 1935. Pp. x, 218.

With a short introduction setting the stage of early Greek thinking,—the prehistory of the Greeks, their beliefs about the soul, about the cosmos, about nature and man's relation to nature, Professor McClure has written an interpretation of the early philosophers of Greece. He has considered it essential to include translations of what source material is available. His insight and clearness make this a valuable book for beginner as well as the student of philosophy.

The Accuracy of the Bible. The Stories of Joseph, the Exodus, and Genesis confirmed and illustrated by Egyptian Monuments and Language. By A. S. Yahuda. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. Pp. xxxvii, 226. Illustrated.

The author, equipped with the knowledge of the languages and cultures of the neighbors of the people of Israel, points out Assyro-Babylonian similarities as well as subsequent Egyptian elements. His object is to prove by tracing the various relationships of words and customs that the biblical narratives could only have developed by migration from Ur, through Canaan to Egypt and back again. The details of his research and his interpretation of their significance make interesting reading.

Tangled Hair, translated from the works of the poet Akiko Yosano by Shio Sakanishi. Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1935. Pp. xvi, 70.

This is the second volume of the Modern Japanese Poets Series, and is as beautifully printed and bound as *A Handful of Sand* by Takuboku Ishikawa. The author is the only woman represented in the series.

It is interesting to note what tremendous changes the urge for poetic expression makes in the life of a poet. Akiko as a child was rebellious against the drabness and drudgery of her conservative, middle-class life, but found consolation in books of her great-grandmother which she secretly read in the old store-room behind her father's confectionery shop. Later she secured current literature and translations from the French and English. Her meeting with Hiroshi Yosano marked the turning point of her career. ". . with desperation I staked my whole life, fought and won my love. With this triumph, I escaped from the family bondage, which had so long imprisoned my personality. Moreover, that very moment, I found that I could freely give artistic expression to my inner thoughts and feelings. Thus all at once, I won the three most precious things of life: courage, love, and poetry."

Hiroshi was at this time the leading spirit in the New Society whose purpose it was to instill and to give expression to the experiences a feeling for love and beauty into poetry which had degenerated into a "mere choosing and arranging of words." He divorced his wife and married Akiko.

The creed of the Society was embodied in her first volume of poetry, *Midare gami* (Tangled Hair), a passionate exaltation of love and beauty. Conservative readers, at first scandalized by her frank admission of passion and desire, soon began to quote her. Akiko's courage and glamour, augmented by her romantic marriage, caught the public imagination. Her later poetry developed more depth and lost some of its early exuberance. Her creative energy was tremendous. Between 1901 and 1928 she wrote twenty-one volumes of poetry. Unlike less robust poets she has been able to devote thirty-five years of unbroken service to her literary activity. Akiko later has written many essays for magazines and newspapers. She has devoted much time to a girls' school founded by her husband and to her large family of twelve children, ten of whom are still living.

The influence of the Yosanos on the development of poetry in Japan is significant because with their great energy and revolutionary spirit they were largely instrumental in bringing about the renaissance of Japanese poetry and bringing it into closer touch with reality.

TANGLED HAIR

As my tangled hair
    Unwittingly touched the strings,
The harp that had been still
    For three long spring months,
        Sounded a note.

Not knowing love,
    I sought beauty in the gods.
But today I see in you
    The beauty in heaven and earth.

A LOTUS BARGE

As to good and evil
Ask those behind me on the bank.
I, for one, ride and play
    On a hurricane.

SUMMER TO AUTUMN

Like a holy Buddha
    In a shrine of gold,
The morning sun rests in the depths
    Of the field of rape-seed flowers.

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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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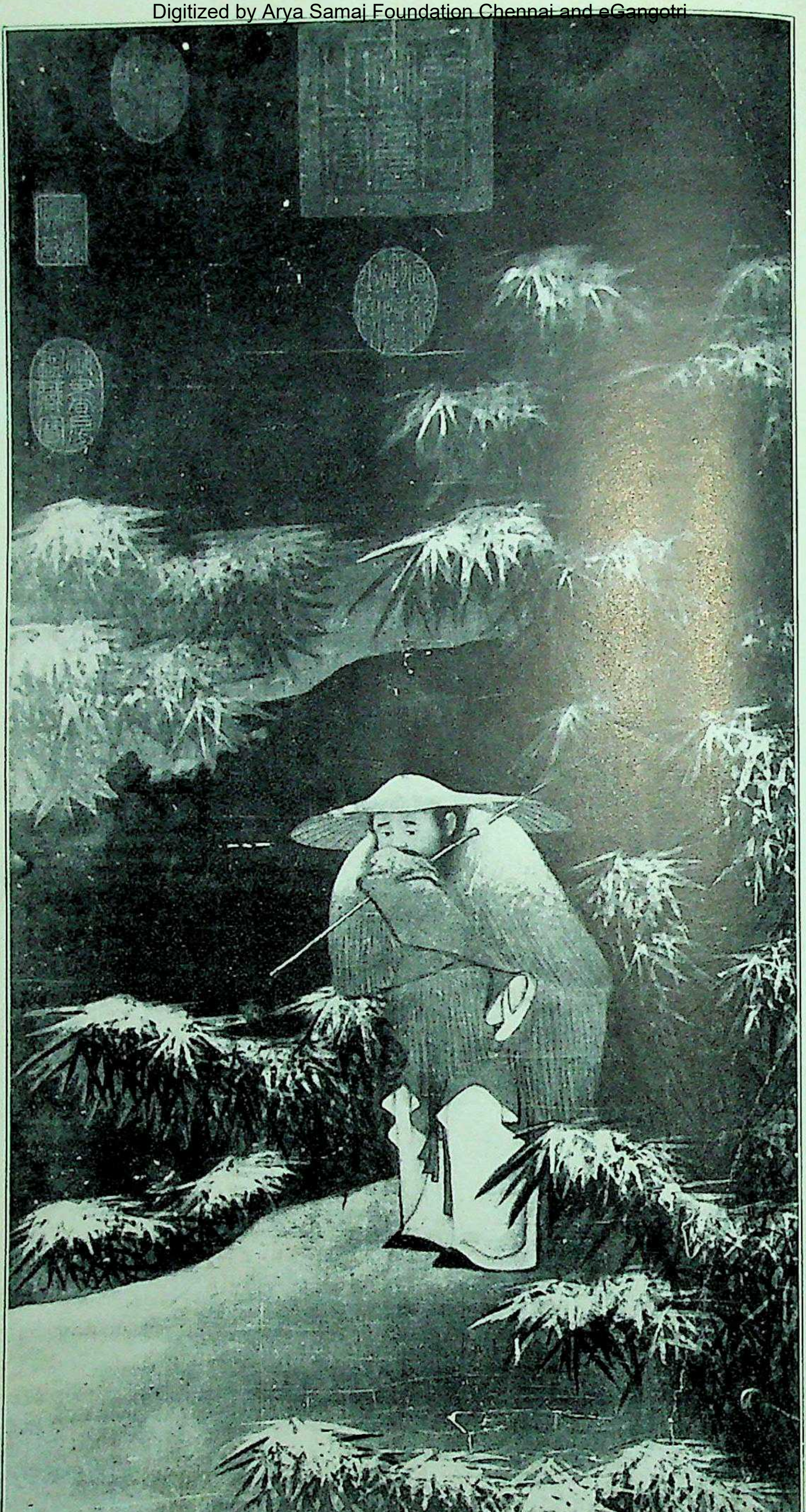

THE OPEN COURT

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NIETZSCHE AND GOETHE

A COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE

BY W. L. GRAFF

THE COMPARISON of two men is not without its pitfalls. It is apt to result in a one-sided characterization because neither their similarities nor their contrasts are likely to exhaust the essentials of their personality. Moreover, it must stress those peculiarities in the two men which happen to overlap and those which happen to be mutually exclusive. The ensuing picture will be a "partial" one, in the two meanings of the word. Light and shadow will be more or less unevenly distributed.

But it is such partiality necessarily an evil? After all, our appraisals are never absolute; they are inevitably dependent upon a yardstick. Complete impartiality and a perfect perspective are not always ideals to be striven for, not to speak of the impossibility of attaining them. A maple presents a different appearance in a grove and on a front lawn. It adds to our appreciation of the tree to see it placed in different settings which underline different aspects. Is it not permitted to steal a leaf out of nature's book and to view one person in the light of another, even at the risk of offending temporarily our sense of proportion? The claim that such a procedure is deceptive is not quite to the point. It is not meant to be comprehensive. The physiognomies of Nietzsche and of Goethe change according as we observe them in the light of each other or in that of Kant or Schiller. But it is illuminating to see them against different backgrounds, providing we remember to make the necessary adjustments of general perspective.

I know of no other writer besides Nietzsche whose ultimate

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* FRONTISPIECE: *Fishing on a Snowy Day.* A painting on silk, in color, much faded. Lent by the Chinese Government. It is ascribed to the Five Dynasties but is probably rather later. Courtesy of the International Exhibit of Chinese Art, Royal Academy of Arts, London. All rights reserved.

thoughts and theories are so uncannily distant from their harmless source and fundamental premises as to make it almost unbelievable that such mountains could have been born of such a mouse. It is enough to mention such slogans as "Radical Atheism," "A Race of Supermen," "A Different Morality for the Great from that of the Poor," "Down with Christian Pity and Altruism," "A Life beyond Good and Evil," "Democracy is a Sign of Decadence," "The Emancipation of Woman is a Crime against Humanity," in order to realize how wicked they are in the eyes of our modern civilization. Yet, these sensational catchwords, by which Nietzsche is too often judged and condemned, are in the last analysis nothing but projections of a pure and noble soul yearning for a better world of beauty and perfection. They do not represent the core of his thought, but rather lie at its periphery. While Goethe's name suggests "moderation" and "measure," the keynote in Nietzsche's characterization is "intensity." When Nietzsche and Goethe start out from similar positions, the whole of Nietzsche eventually lands in the stratosphere, whereas Goethe's feet are still solidly planted on the ground although his head may touch the clouds.

Few people deny that in German literature and cultural outlook Goethe occupies a central place. Since his appearance on the scene no cultural movement of any importance, no writer or artist has been completely unaware of the form and meaning which Goethe has given to the cultural pattern into which every German after him is born. This in spite of the partial truth contained in Nietzsche's saying that "Goethe is an incident in German history without consequences." There are those who repudiate his "Weltanschauung" theoretically, some who feel that his genius has been greatly overestimated, and a few who would like to ignore altogether his decisive contribution to German cultural life, but in practice there is no escaping the multitudinous threads that emanate from the "Frauenplan" at Weimar and radiate wherever the German word is spoken or understood. In fact, Goethe like Nietzsche, although for different reasons, presents so many facets that the romanticist as well as the classicist, the realist and the idealist, the revolutionary and the reactionary, the friend of the people as well as the aristocrat, the Christian as well as the pagan, the nationalist and the cosmopolitan have little difficulty in finding in his works passages which will support their own theories. "Hast du etwas vonnöthen, so geh zu Goethen" is the familiar, somewhat cynical saying.

Some describe this universality of Goethe by what they call his eclecticism, his panoramic view. But let us beware of attaching too superficial a meaning to these terms. Goethe's eclecticism is not that of a mere erudite with encyclopaedic information; it is the eclecticism of one whose personality touches at many vital points the very core of humanity. Put almost any name, famous in the world of German literature or thought, in juxtaposition with that of Goethe, and at once the combinations become not only plausible, but most fruitful parallelisms for consideration, because Goethe acts as a sort of prism through which each of the other personalities is broken into its iridescent qualities. At any rate, it is an inspiring experience to examine Nietzsche in the light of Goethe, whether we wish to appraise the characteristics of the former or those of the latter. Not that Nietzsche has at any time plagiarized from Goethe or even deliberately exploited the wealth of his thought. Even where he acknowledges outright his indebtedness to other thinkers, such as Schopenhauer for example, Nietzsche is much too personal, much too original to be able to copy or merely to work out somebody else's wisdom. But in spite of the sharp contrasts in mood and temperament, there exists between Nietzsche and Goethe a genuine affinity of thought and ideals. The medium in which Nietzsche's thought naturally thrives contains an amazingly large number of elements peculiar to Goethe.

From a biographical point of view, it is true, there appears to be hardly anything but contrast. Goethe's home surroundings were on the whole mundane. Neither his father nor his mother is known to have possessed any overdose of religious enthusiasm, in spite of the fact that their son had to submit to the conventional amount of religious instruction. The greatest influence exerted on young Goethe in this respect was perhaps that of his famous "schöne Seele," the pietistic Miss von Klettenberg. Nietzsche, on the other hand, was born into a family of Protestant clergymen, both on his father's and on his mother's side. Concern with dogmatic and especially with ethical problems was his natural inheritance, whereas to Goethe these problems only suggested themselves as occasional and speculative ones among many others. It is almost true to say that Goethe had lived a life beyond good and evil, before Nietzsche rationalized and preached it.

Nor was Goethe submitted to much strict discipline during his boyhood. All his pre-university education was acquired rather playfully at home, while the six years which Nietzsche spent at Schulpforta, the German Eton, were years of stern control and of serious study along humanistic lines. Even at Leipzig and Strassburg Goethe chose his subjects most freely and devoted a good deal more time to poetry, literature, and art than to those disciplines of law in which he was to graduate. When a president of the University of Jena recently recommended Goethe as an inspiring ideal to the entering students, he felt impelled to surround his recommendation with all sorts of cautious reservations, warning them not to claim for themselves the freedom of the genius too quickly. But again, Nietzsche plunged earnestly and deeply into the study of classical philology, both at the University of Bonn and at that of Leipzig. He was only twenty-four years of age when his scholarly contributions attracted the attention of the authorities of the University of Basel. To be sure, when he was a student, he, too, took part in various extra-curricular activities, even to the point of laying the foundation for his subsequent aversion for nicotine and alcohol. But compared to Goethe's jovial and prankish youth, Nietzsche's was decidedly oriented toward the serious. Goethe's contacts with different layers of society, with all sorts of manifestations of life, were far broader, far more variegated than Nietzsche's.

From his early boyhood to his old age, Goethe's life was studded with colorful episodes of love, each of which became artistically inspiring and fruitful. In Nietzsche's life women and natural erotic relationships seem to have played a decidedly minor part. That he was capable of and thirsting for deep and passionate love, however, is clearly realized by all those who care to analyze his biological and psychic constitution; it is amply illustrated by his romantic adoration of Schopenhauer, who was dead, and by his erotically colored enthusiasm for Richard Wagner, who was living but much older. Both attachments appeared for a time undivided and absolute, although strongly intellectual and idealistic. What Nietzsche loved in them was his ideal type of the perfect man, his instinctively emerging image of the superman. Goethe's Eros, an artistic force "par excellence," was directed primarily toward the plastic forms of life; Nietzsche's Eros yearned for some musical, idealistic, and philosophic incarnation. But it is with the same feeling of nostalgia that Nietzsche thinks all his life of the Arcadian days spent in the company of Wagner at Triebschen, and that Goethe is haunted by the memories of Sesenheim. And it is also the same blind destiny which drives them both away from their object of love in order that they may remain true to their own genius.

And can there be a greater contrast than that between Goethe, who at the age of twenty-six was whirled into the profane court-life at Weimar, and Nietzsche who at the age of twenty-four was appointed professor of Classical Philology at Basel University? During his first ten years at Weimar Goethe was at times the master of pleasure and entertainment at the court of a young prince who revelled in everything that is of this earth; at times he was a responsible officer in the administration of the Duchy; continuously he refreshed himself at the fountain of love at the house of Frau von Stein or explored the sinuous world of the Eternal Feminine in a variety of other ways; and all the time he clung close to nature, trying to understand the secret language of the universe in which he lived. During the ten years of his professional career Nietzsche led an almost monastical life in the austere cloisters of a Swiss institution for higher learning, drifting more and more away from philology into the channels of psychology and ethics. When Goethe went to Weimar, he had to his credit some fine poems, his *Goetz von Berlichingen,* and especially his *Werther* which spread his name all over Europe. When Nietzsche went to Basel, he was utterly unknown outside of a small circle of professional philologists. Goethe's release from his administrative duties at Weimar is paralleled by Nietzsche's retirement from the educational life at the university; but during his sojourn in Italy Goethe abandoned himself more than ever to the world of living forms, while Nietzsche seems to have detached himself steadily from the world of phenomena in order to work out his own world of dreams and thoughts.

It is also most characteristic that Goethe eventually settled down in Weimar, where he was surrounded by things which he owned and cherished, by men and women whom he respected or loved. Nietzsche on the contrary never owned a home, but wandered restlessly back and forth from Switzerland to Italy, from Italy to Germany, from Germany to the Riviera, from one city to another, living in simple rooms often without a stove, and trailing his boxes of books and his ever growing piles of manuscripts with him. Hardly anybody shared his thoughts outside of the blue Italian sky, the serene peaks of the Engadine or the grey German clouds. Because Goethe was wise enough to adopt the world, and to fit himself into it without jeopardizing the development of his own glorious personality, the world bowed to him: he had more friends than he liked, more admirers than he could endure. Nietzsche's famous loneliness is, indeed, a tragic and awe-inspiring spectacle. At Bonn he lost his student friends when he proposed a reform of the rules of the students' association to which he belonged. His friends, the philologists, including his beloved master Ritschl, became estranged from him because in his book entitled *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music* he interpreted Greek tragedy and Greek culture in a manner not sanctioned by professional technique. He moved away from his friends, the philosophers, Deussen and other adherents of Schopenhauer and Kant, because he soon was no longer satisfied with Schopenhauer's pessimistic and Christian outlook, while Kant's categoric imperatives, his analyzing and systematic "philosophy of the back-doors" became a particularly chosen target for his attacks. He lost his friends, the Wagnerians, and above all the great Wagner himself, because the erstwhile eulogist eventually discovered that in Wagner, too, so many things were only human, all too human: his romantic flirting with mysticism, his yielding to the acclamations of the crowd, his fatal relapse into Christian morphology. Nietzsche lost the sympathetic understanding of his colleagues at Basel, of Overbeck and Burkhardt. When Burkhardt had read Nietzsche's *Dawn of the Day*, he wrote: "I read like an old man, with a feeling of vertigo," and Erwin Rohde of Leipzig did not so much as acknowledge the receipt of the book. Dr. Rée, for a long time the supplementing Mephisto to Nietzsche, was rejected in due time because he was too realistic and dialectic. Nietzsche was profoundly disappointed in that adventurous bluestocking, the Russian Jewess, Lou Salomé, who had been sent to him as a promising disciple but who proved to lack true understanding of her master's genius. For a time at least he lost confidence even in his sister, his lama, when she had decided to marry the Anti-Semite Foerster and to follow him to Paraguay. At the time when Nietzsche finished his fourth part of *Zarathustra,* his publisher wrote to him that the public simply would not read his aphorisms, and poor Nietzsche had to have his manuscript printed at his own expense in a limited edition of 40 copies. So lonely was he at that time that he could think of only seven people to whom he might send a copy, and not all of them might go to the trouble of reading it. It is true, Nietzsche insists that he is proud of not being appreciated, especially by his German compatriots, considering that the greatness of a man can only be measured by the centuries required for his being understood. But at bottom, he yearned for friendship, for complete, true, absolute friendship, and he wanted to be heard by the world, even if it were only to be misunderstood and criticized. The complete and glacial silence with which his works were eventually received, nearly drove him mad and was partly responsible for the ever-increasing intensity of his shocking paradoxes and thunderbolts.

Many cannot forgive Goethe for the diplomatic caution with which he seemed to acknowledge the existing order of things and of society, while in more than one respect he thought and felt very much like Nietzsche about his compatriots and their philistine ideals. They prefer the Goethe, who in his rare moments of spontaneous indignation threw diplomacy to the winds and whose words could then strike with a directness worthy in every sense of Nietzsche. They forget, however, that Goethe's caution was anything but insincere or hypocritical. His compromising attitude on one hand and his feeling of superior greatness on the other were both deeply rooted in the instincts of his personality. Without either of these qualities Goethe could not be Goethe. Two of his favorite figures are Anteus and Euphorion. Anteus, the giant born of the Earth, unconquerable as long as his feet are on the ground but powerless as soon as Hercules succeeds in lifting him up; Euphorion, the winged son of Achilles and Helena, who flies toward the sun only to crash to the ground, blinded and scorched. Anteus is Goethe the conqueror, Goethe realized; Euphorion is the conquered Goethe, the potential Goethe, as realized more permanently in men like Byron or Nietzsche. It would be easy to argue that Nietzsche was more courageous than Goethe because he undoubtedly faced the greater dangers. But would it be equally easy to decide which of the two attitudes required greater strength of character: that of Nietzsche who dared to challenge the world without any regard of consequences but who in so doing allowed his Dionysian passion free play, or that of Goethe whose great aim was to subdue all those forces tending to the infinite and who thus succeded in surpassing his time without offending it too recklessly?

Another biographical fact which stresses the peculiar contrast between Nietzsche and Goethe is that the latter enjoyed, by and large, the benefits of continuous and solid health, whereas Nietzsche did not. Nietzsche served in the German army twice: once in peace time when he was enlisted as an artilleryman, and a fall from his horse injured his chest; and once at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war when he had already become a Swiss citizen. This time he could only be admitted to the ambulance corps, where he contracted dysentery. Not waiting for his complete recovery he returned to his duties at Basel, and from that time on his life was one long chain of sick spells, followed by glorious feelings of convalescence and resurrection. Hence what was a natural condition in Goethe, was the object of a constant struggle in Nietzsche. Nietzsche's instinctive restlessness was strengthened by his physical instability, whereas Goethe's classical repose was made easier by the normal metabolism of his body. And so we observe that Goethe's work *possesses* and *radiates* a calm and natural vigor, whereas Nietzsche's work rather *demands* and *preaches* a strength and health, which he himself could only arouse at intervals by the use of ever increasing doses of chloral. The joy of convalescence, the *will* to recovery. the *will* to life, the *will* to power, these are essential and constantly recurring motifs in Nietzsche's philosophy and poetry. While the optimism of Goethe's "Weltanschauung" is the natural outflow of his balanced personality, Nietzsche's optimistic philosophy is the result of his iron will. Goethe says "yea" to life because it is beautiful in its phenomenal variety of light and shadow, of good and bad, of happiness and sorrow; Nietzsche says "yea" to life because he convinces himself that it can be improved by the conscious rearing of a stronger, a nobler and happier race of men. Compared to Nietzsche, Goethe suggests to us the realization of an ideal for which Nietzsche only yearns. But again, Nietzsche's eye, and head and stomach troubles may very well have been essential prerequisites for his amazing work. Without them his Zarathustra might not have been endowed with those fiery eyes and super-human demands, or might not even have been born. The required tension and tremendous pressure might have been lacking. Nietzsche might not have been driven to seek the rarified and invigorating air of the Engadine Alps, thousands of feet above the plains of Germany, "the only possible cradle for Zarathustra."

Finally, even the end of Nietzsche offers an illuminating contrast to that of Goethe. There is a legend according to which Goethe's last words were "More light!," a symbol of his alleged search for the infinite and for truth. In reality, he seems to have passed away calmly and peacefully, without expressing any challenging revolt or romantic yearning. For eighty-two years Goethe had grown like an oak, solidly spreading its roots in the ground, strengthening its trunk year by year and extending its branches and foliage in a wide sway in all directions. When that oak died, it was not because it was top-heavy, not because it was uprooted before its time by a sudden gust of wind, but because death is the inevitable process by which nature performs its marvelous metabolism. If Goethe's life be compared to a circle, his death was merely the final knot that closed the two ends. Upon entering the last ten years of his life he lived once more through a moment of rejuvenation as he fell in love with Ulrike von Levetzow who was still in her teens. But Goethe did not lose his healthy balance in the process. At the age of seventy-four his *Marienbader Elegie* had the same sobering effect upon him as had his *Werther* when he was young. When Nietzsche entered the last decade of his life, he too passed through a moment of physical jubilation, of lucidity of mind and clarity of soul, which impregnated his last works with dazzling light and alarming vitality. But this afflux of joy was a feverish glow, the ephemeral incandescence of a light on the point of burning out. For ten years, Nietzsche's mind was enveloped in a shroud of pitiful but harmless insanity. Unlike Goethe's life circle, that of Nietzsche was never closed; before the two ends could meet, one flew off at a tangent, into the infinite.

As far as mood and temperament are concerned, therefore, Nietzsche has much more in common with men like Beethoven, the proud iconoclast, the aggressive aristocrat of feeling and instinct; with Hölderlin, that "crucified Dionysus," who even in his long years of mental darkness had flashes of divine inspiration in which he wrote some beautiful poetry; or more still with the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh, whose enraptured craving for color, light, and form reached unheard-of paroxysms as he drew nearer the benighted stage. With these Nietzsche had in common a resistless submission to some inner force which drove him slowly but inexorably into the complete loss of physical and mental balance, but which in the meantime spoke through him with absolutely elemental directness, with an irresistible stream of keen thoughts, luxuriant images, and musical words, with bursting emotion and burning enthusiasm.

Goethe, on the other hand, notoriously shunned the deadly charm of the extreme and violent, of the uncompromising and tragic. With naive passion, which betrays his deep-rooted instinct for self-protection, for harmony and organic growth, he rejected all volcanic theories of geological development. He was afraid of a certain type of music, because he feared its tendency toward the formless and chaotic, toward the infinite. What he appreciated above all in music was the melody, because of its definiteness and more palpable form. All his life Goethe fights the Dionysian, the demoniacal, the unchecked elemental, all those staccato, convulsive, and revolutionary forces of life. He knew too well the danger of their voracious, destructive tendencies if left to their own momentum, unchecked. As Stefan Zweig puts it, somewhere, at some crucial moment in his youth, he must have been face to face with the yawning abyss that lies at the end of every attempt to yield to the call of the demon within. A moment of tremendous importance this was for the future fate of Goethe, because it saved him once and for all from the deadly spell of the infinite. Whenever, henceforth, the Furies threaten him from within or cross his path in the persons of others, he either proceeds to exorcise himself by objectivating a Goetz, a Werther, a Prometheus, a Mahomet, an Egmont, an Orestes, a Tasso, a Faust—or else he wraps himself in the mantle of social aloofness or of classical and didactic moderation. And thus he strides along on his spiral way to harmony and self-culture. There is little doubt that had Nietzsche lived in Goethe's time, he would have met with the same cold reception on the part of the Sage of

Weimar as did Beethoven, and Kleist, and Heine and others of their temperamental type.

Is it surprising that Goethe was a friend of the restful plastic arts and of painting, while Nietzsche's musical talent was only challenged by his passion for ethical problems and by his irresistible urge for verbal and stylistic orgies? Goethe's style, especially his poetry, is musical, no doubt, but it is plastic above all, epically restful and measured. Nietzsche's style, too, is replete with plastic images; if he kept aloof from men, he composed most of his aphorisms on walks through the beautiful country of Italy or on the rocky shores of Alpine lakes, in intimate touch with nature. But above all, his word is music, intoxicating, bracing music, increasingly daring as he grows in age and in solitude. In Goethe, the Apollonian slowly but surely carries off the final victory; in Nietzsche, the Dionysian eventually routs the Apollonian and reaches orgiastic intensity in his last works. While Goethe sets his plastic images to music, as it were, Nietsche translates his musical thoughts into plastic words.

However, these contrasts, which might be multiplied and elaborated, conceal only imperfectly the genuine affinity which exists between Nietzsche and Goethe. It will have been noticed that in our description of what gives these two men their antithetical character, there opened at many vital points unexpected vistas of fundamental agreement. In reading Nietzsche's work carefully, one is indeed often reminded of Goethe in one way or another. The upper currents in Nietzsche's work, especially their frothy tempo, their engulfing and erosive effects, are entirely different from those slow and peaceful waves which carry Goethe's thoughts to thankful shores. But there are strong undercurrents of remarkable similarity on both sides. What Nietzsche admired in Goethe was determined by these; what he criticized was dictated by his dislike of such things as cautious compromise with convention, of deliberate resignation with existing forms of life. Goethe's greatness and genius, however, appeared so supreme to Nietzsche, that in his general appraisal he generously disregarded the shortcomings of the greatest German that had ever lived.

Unhesitatingly he placed him in the Pantheon of his supermen. Among the many names to which Nietzsche directs his attention at one time or another, even at the height of his period of revaluation of all values, there is none to which he attaches so much unstinting and persistent reverence as to that of Goethe. Nietzsche quotes freely from his works and calls Goethe's conversations with Eckermann the best book written in German. A number of his aphorisms and short essays are devoted to partial or summary characterizations of Goethe's personality and work. While he recognizes him as the great German lyricist, he remarks, however, that his dominating nature is epic, contemplative, Apollonian. From the point of view of the drama he was far inferior to Schiller and Kotzebue, whom Nietzsche mentions cruelly in the same breath. Goethe's conciliatory, redeeming nature made him utterly unfit for the tragedy, which is essentially fateful and inexorable in its exigencies. Hence, Nietzsche considered *Iphigenia* and *Tasso* as Goethe's best dramatic works, because of their epico-lyrical character. Although it may be said that temperamentally Nietzsche had much in common with the Promethean Faust of the first version, he parodied Faust nevertheless, because, as he saw it, the Weimer poet did not seem to take the demon in Faust seriously and tragically enough. Otherwise Nietzsche admired the sentences of wisdom and the glorious poetry strewn lavishly about in Goethe's great work. But again, the latter's recourse to Catholic symbolism and Faust's salvation at the end were taboo to Nietzsche, who also laughed at Goethe's famous deification of the Eternal Feminine. He admires Goethe as the great, creative, and truly inspired writer, the master of Prose, the only classical poet of Germany. Three times he finds in Goethe's poetry the word "Uebermensch," and we may be sure that he was exteremely sensitive to its potential force. He respects Goethe's ideas about Shakespeare, Sterne, Schiller, and others, and even calls up his spirit in order to find out what he would have thought of the decadent Wagner with his mystical and Christian Parcifal. With Goethe he agrees about the nature of poetry, about the conditional and relative faith in the usefulness of history. The impartial and scientific study of history is not only useless but has a deadening and sterilizing effect. Unless the study of history is made a lever for the achievement of greater cultural progress in the present and in the future, it had better be left alone. In fact, for the creation of really new values, a temporary oblivion of history supplies a better foundation than historical consciousness. Both Goethe and Nietzsche were also deeply impregnated with Greek culture and a classical conception of beauty. But while the Greek antiquity of Winckelmann, Lessing, and Goethe was that rather of Socratic and post-Socratic Greece, with its great emphasis on cheerful bright harmony, proportion, simplicity, and measure, Nietzsche laid stress on that Greece in which the barbarian, the Dionysian, the demoniacal, orgiastic, and pessimmisic instincts were essential ingredients of greatness. Goethe was in the eyes of Nietzsche the great European, the world-citizen, transcending the provincial and petty German. Napoleon's well-known words addressed to Goethe: "Voilà un homme," are interpreted and approved by Nietzsche as meaning: "Indeed, here is a man! And I had only expected a German." Just as Beethoven composed music and as Schopenhauer philosophized over the heads of the Germans, just so Goethe wrote *Iphigenia* and *Tasso* over their heads. Nietzsche's attitude toward the so-called German "Philister Bildung" was essentially the same as that of Goethe, but instead of being mildly resisting, gently sparing or kindly silent, Nietzsche was extremely vocal and superlatively sarcastic. How could he respect a nation that was so conceited and self-satisfied that it had only a shrug of the shoulders for the greatest man of Europe who left nothing undone to make himself heard? Nietzsche could never forget that the first who discovered him was a Dane, Georges Brandes, who devoted a series of lectures to his philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, at a time when Germany at large hardly knew who Nietzsche was. Sweden, France, Russia, New York were more interested in Nietzsche than the country of his birth. Nietzsche himself was proud of the Slavonic and aristocratic blood which he suspected in his veins and which he considered partly responsible for his praeter-German outlook. Like Goethe he admired the artistic instincts of the French, their classical lightness and superficiality, their clear psychological insight. But in spite of all these reservations he saw in Goethe—whom he calls "der Ausnahme Deutsche"—as well as in Luther and Schiller, the true German culture, the German culture *in potentia*, which could only be realized on a large scale in some distant future, when the Germans would come to know, like Goethe, that to be genuinely German meant being something more than merely German. And finally, Nietzsche admired in Goethe that sure instinct with which he recognized the two great errors of his life: that of believing himself a great painter and that of putting his scientific talents above his poetic ones.

Professional philosophers are reluctant to consider Goethe and even Nietzsche as one of their clan. And in a sense there are very good reasons for their attitude. The outstanding fact is that Nietzsche and Goethe are poet-philosophers. Neither is in sympathy with the dialectic, critical, and analyzing method by which the philosopher proceeds to scrutinize all that is involved in a theory and to dissect all the consequences that will logically follow from it. It is quite true that they both pass through a period of hesitation in this respect: Goethe had his Kantian spell and Nietzsche turned rather Socratic in his second philosophic stage. But in their instinctive youth as well as in their period of maturity they are emphatic in putting constructive synthesis above critical analysis. And what is worse—or better—is that they both believe implicitly in the supreme importance of intuition and instinct in order to arrive at this synthesis. *Fiat vita, pereat veritas* is Nietzsche's slogan in these two characteristic periods: "if so-called philosophic truth tends to destroy life, then by all means let us sacrifice that truth." If truth is to be reached, it is not by the one-sided application of reason which slowly builds up a logical system, but rather by intuitive vision in which the whole of man has part, his senses, his imagination, his emotions and his intellect. Not that Goethe's and Nietzsche's thoughts are absolutely sudden and disconnected flashes of light, inspirations gleaned at random out of the air. In fact they often carry them with them for a more or less long period, sometimes for years, until at last they ripen into a peculiarly pregnant form and appear suddenly luminous and brilliant as a flame. All that is then required is not a long treatise, but a clear and short formulation, in a style which is not dry and dialectic but emotionally colored and visionary, not slow moving and expansive but convincingly assertive, not punctiliously accurate and exhaustive, but revelling in the suggestive and stimulating paradox. Hence, both Goethe's and Nietzsche's philosophy is laid down in aphorisms, short essays, condensed sayings, epigrams, symbolic poems. Hence also, their positive dislike of logically and laboriously worked out systems. Their philosophy is often clad in luxuriant metaphors, plastic images, carrying you away by its music and rhythm. Even in his seemingly organic works such as his *Birth of Tragedy* or his *Zarathustra* Nietzsche is in realitty aphoristic. His thoughts are the result of instinctive and prophetic vision, captured at the moment of greatest clarity on walks in the open.

The danger of error resulting from this method of philosophizing and scientific study is obvious. Goethe's antipathy for analysis and decomposition led him to become passionately opposed to Newton's optical theories, and his comical dislike of mathematical physics is pointed out with great satisfaction by professional philosophers and scientists as ample justification for their attitude of reserve. It is equally evident that many of Nietzsche's theories about racial, social, and ethical problems are open to criticism or downright rejection. But after all, if we consider the light that these men have really thrown on many unexplored or insufficiently explored problems, we cannot help recognizing the great value and efficiency of their intuitive, that is, poetic procedure. Even the mere posing of new problems is a most significant part of philosophic and scientific research. And who can claim to rival Nietzsche as a poser of tremendous problems in a field where human tradition and inertia are so stubbornly bent upon taking things for granted? If it is true that a systematic edifice of philosophy is apt to be more consistent and coherent, less contradictory and less fragmentary, is it not equally evident that unless every essential part of that edifice is solid and impervious to criticism, the whole system is bound to crumble away into nothingness? Accuracy and exhaustive completeness are naturally more characteristic of a systematic pursuit of thought, but intuition and inspiration have the supreme advantage of greater inventiveness and creative power. Are not many of the greatest discoveries and truths the result of the sudden flash of light caught by the genius in its swift passing? Not to speak of the superior form of presentation that we may expect from the poet-philosopher, superior by its enthusiasm, its dynamic and persuasive power, its fascinating imagery, its music and rhythm. A false assumption of a purely dialectic thinker becomes *ipso facto* a worthless thing, deserving nothing but profound oblivion and neglect. An untrue aphorism of a poet-philosopher may still remain a gem, beautiful to look at and to caress with one's imagination.

Even if we disagree most emphatically with Nietzsche in what he has to say or to preach, we still like to breathe the stimulating ozone which fills the atmosphere of his thinking, to hear the dancing music of his words.

Nietzsche does not share Goethe's conviction of the inherently organic structure of the cosmos, but rather sees in nature nothing but unrelated phenomena, a sort of hodge podge of individually conflicting wills. Nevertheless they both have an instinctive distrust of all fundamentally dualistic theories. They are repelled by any system of thought which splits the universe into two irreconcilable parts: the physical and the metaphysical, the phenomenon and the noumenon. Hence also their hostile attitude to such Christian concepts as this life and the life beyond, sin and grace, guilt and reconciliation, a personal God and his creation, body and soul, the natural and the supernatural, good and evil. All these concepts tear the universe of man apart into two incompatible and intolerable worlds, destructive of happiness and harmony. If Goethe seems more reserved in his confessions about religion and morality, it is merely because of his superior, non-tragic feeling of tolerance. His works and sayings as well as his life, however, are eloquent testimonies for anyone who is willing to see. Nietzsche, on the other hand, can never be heretic, paradoxical, extreme and godless enough. He seems to draw Goethe's thoughts from their soft twilight into the blinding light of day, and to throw them on the market with naked fanaticism, magnifying their weaknesses and covering their delicate shadings with crying colors. That Goethe considered the distinction between good and evil as merely relative, that he did not believe in an absolue good as opposed to an aboslute evil, can be gathered from his works and life at every turn. It was an instinctive conviction of his, which was merely strengthened by his acquaintance with Spinoza's *Ethics*. It separated him as well as Nietzsche from Kant's bourgeois philosophy. "Das, was wir böse nennen, ist nur die andre Seite vom Guten." The Christian concept of the original sin he complements with that of the original virtue: "eine angeborene Güte, Rechtlichkeit und besonders eine Neigung zur Ehrfurcht." He calls the very personification of Evil, namely Mephisto: "ein Teil von jener Kraft, die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft." In his *Prologue in Heaven* he lets the devil speak on equal terms with God: "Des Menschen Tâtigkeit kann allzuleicht erschlaffen, Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh; Drum geb ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu, Der reizt und wirkt und muss, als Teufel, schaffen." And Mephisto comments: "Von Zeit zu Zeit seh' ich den Alten gern, Und hüte mich, mit ihm zu brechen. Es ist gar hübsch von einem grossen Herrn, So menschlich mit dem Teufel selbst zu sprechen." A consciousness of guilt in a Judaeo-Christian sense was unknown to Goethe, and his relative adjustment to existing customs was merely an expression of his desire for peace and harmony. If he differs in this respect from Nietzsche it is only in form and expression. What Goethe hides shyly under a coat of transparent symbols or behind the screen of his discreet behavior, Nietzsche rationalizes with all the articulate sharpness of his passionate thought. He writes whole books of aphorisms and essays about it, such as *The Genealogy of Morality, Beyond Good and Evil, The Will to Power, Thus Spake Zarathustra.* Against the artificial, moral concepts of good and evil he puts the natural, amoral concepts of good and bad. Good as opposed to bad is that which is conducive to stronger, healthier life, the supreme and ultimate goal of humanity. The concept of morality is perfectly irrelevant to it. Good and bad belong to a different sphere from that of good and evil, they lie beyond good and evil, and it is in this sphere only that the superman can live and thrive. It is his function to fight what is bad and to nurse what is good, regardless of moral considerations of good and evil. And all this is said and preached with an amazing directness of speech, with a clarity of vision, a cutting sharpness, which would undoubtedly have caused the non-tragical Goethe to stare and to balk.

Besides these few peculiarities, which reveal such a marked relationship of affinity and contrast between Nietzsche and Goethe, many other parallelisms of equal significance could easily be shown to exist. I will only suggest in a general way that Nietzsche also shared with Goethe that yearning for Italy which has become so characteristic of the Germans, especially since Winckelmann. It is a yearning for Italy as a symbol of sunshine, of a bright and naive culture which comes nearest to being a natural continuation of the ancient classical tradition, a symbol of the strong and glorious art of the Renaissance. By instinct, Goethe and Nietzsche were aristocrats of the heart and mind; nobility as they understood it is not a mere matter of birth and social position, but real nobility of instinct, talent, and ideals. They are outspoken champions of a healthy egoism as opposed to altruism on one hand and to selfishness on the other. They are individualists with unlimited contempt for a mechanical world which reduces the human being to the rank of a mere wheel in the social or national machine. Yet, each in his own personal way, strove for the betterment of mankind, for a higher culture in which greater and stronger individuals would raise society to a superior level.

In conclusion, we might observe that Goethe's and Nietzsche's undoubted non- or anti-Christian attitude did not prevent either of them from recognizing the great cultural value of Christianism in certain defined fields. Goethe was decidedly more generous and tolerant in this respect than Nietzsche, not only because of his more compromising and less fanatic nature, but also because in the personal experience of his life the Christian dogma and ethics had not touched him to the quick as they had Nietzsche. Moreover, although Goethe and Nietzsche were undoubtedly praeter-national in their thoughts, sentiments, and aspirations, they were both deeply embedded in the Teutonic cultural mold. Their own individuality and works are, in spite of all reservations, profoundly German, and when they speak disparagingly of their country and countrymen, they only refer to certain features of the present, past, or immediate future. But they have in common a sincere belief in the great potentialities and latent qualities of their people.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN MODERN EGYPT

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FOR THE PAST thirteen hundred years, the entire culture of Egypt has been very closely identified with, if not entirely molded by, the religious system known to the world as *Islam*. While this religion and culture based on the teachings of Mahomet was Arabian in origin and characteristics, from the time of its introduction into Egypt in the seventh century it dominated the intellectual and social, the individual and the national character, practically to the exclusion of any other large and vital forces. Whatever there was of pre-Islamic religious influence, whether pagan or Christian, to a very large degree gave way to the penetration of Moslem thought.

Egypt not only submitted to Islam, but in time became a center of Moslem influence and teaching. More than to other factors, this was due to the founding at Cairo of the remarkable institution known as the Azhar University. Established in the tenth century by order of the Fatimite Caliph Muiz ed-Din, its original purpose was that of propagating the Shiite creed, in the effort to supplant the Sunni doctrines at that time prevalent in Egypt. For a short time at the middle of the twelfth century the Azhar was shorn of its educational functions and remained a mosque for worship only. But having its former character restored, its influence quickly spread to the most distant Moslem lands. By degrees, as al-Azhar came to be regarded as the source of authorative interpretations of Mohammedan doctrine and law; Cairo rose to a position in the eyes of the devout scarcely inferior to that of Jerusalem or the Holy Cities in Arabia. Meanwhile, as various other institutions, such as the *kuttáb*, or village school, came to be dependent upon it, al-Azhar exercised an almost complete monopoly over such intellectual life as existed in Egypt.

Until the nineteenth century al-Azhar remained altogether primitive in form and apathetic in scholarship. Its activities were limited to the routine study of certain prescribed books, themselves lifeless, inaccurate, irregular in style and obscure in meaning, having been composed in a decadent age. These works, nevertheless, were regarded as quasi-sacred texts which it was an act of devotion to read, to elucidate, and to believe unquestioningly. Under such circumstances, superstitious notions, hallowed by religious sanction, found easy entrance, and ignorance battened on the belief that apart from the studies of the Azhar, there was no need for knowledge either for the present or for the life to come.

The dogma defined by al-Azhar was not without its critics. Since the thirteenth century the sect of Sufis, or "people of the path," espoused other fundamentals of doctrine, maintaining that, in order to gain a revelation of the truth, to attain to highest happiness, and to approach Allah, the soul must be purified and the conscience cleansed by means of certain practices[1] and disciplines, the latter being imposed by the spiritual preceptor or sheikh. For them inward piety supplied the sole path to knowledge and external forms of worship had virtue only for their effect on the soul. The Azharites, in contrast, were mere formalists, being concerned only with complete harmony between the canon law (*shari'ah*) of Islam and the conduct of the faithful. Inasmuch, however, as sincere and capable teachers were rare even among the Sufis, the adherents of this sect were seldom more enlightened than the pupils of al-Azhar. Sufi fakirs very generally exploited the ignorance of the masses, substituting pious fraud, superstition, and barbaric cavorting for genuine learning and devotion.

By such rites and doctrines were the lives of Egyptians shaped and colored for many generations. Their faith was the more tenacious because the anarchy which passed for government left no hope of earthly escape from utter poverty, humiliation, and despair. Only in religion was consolation to be found. How could the masses do otherwise than turn to the glamour and promise of religious rites, orthodox or sectarian, and address themselves to the hierarchy of spirits and to the tombs of saints in quest of help from an unseen world?

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[1] For instance, the performance of the *dhikr,* or recollection of God, a familiar example of which is the dance of the *mavlevis,* or "whirling dervishes."

The plethora of wars with which the nineteenth century opened were of special significance to Egypt because of the advent of the remarkable Albanian adventurer, Mohamed Aly Pasha. With the assistance of the religious chiefs of Cairo his authority was established in 1805. Scarcely had he succeeded in crushing his antagonists than he was moved by peremptory orders from the Sultan to undertake a campaign against the schismatic Wahhabis in the Hejaz for the defense of the Holy Cities. If Mohamed Aly's costly victory over these heresiarchs in 1818 gained for him a special place in the field of politics and war, it also earned for him among Egyptian religious leaders the rank of *mujáhid*[2] as defender of the Caliph and the respect due the defender of the Holy Places.[3]

The consequent rise of Mohamed Aly to a position of unrivalled power was marked by numerous innovations and brought the first faint promise of improvement in the lives of the Egyptians. In order to insure the stability of his government he did not hesitate to call many European experts to his assistance. By this process a new culture was introduced gradually into the country—a culture which, if religious in any sense of the word, was Christian rather than Moslem. At the outset there were few protesting voices, since the principal purpose in the introduction of European experts and methods was the improvement of the army ostensibly for such righteous objectives as the chastisement of the Wahhabis. By the time it became apparent that the army might have other and more secular uses, the new régime was too firmly entrenched to be contested and Mohamed Aly continued with the European policy which has gained for him the epithet of "founder of modern Egypt."

Thus, during the course of the nineteenth century, two rather clearly defined cultures came to exist side by side in Egypt. The one was an outgrowth of religious instruction and was marked by distinctive costume—the turban and loose robes—sloth, ceremony,

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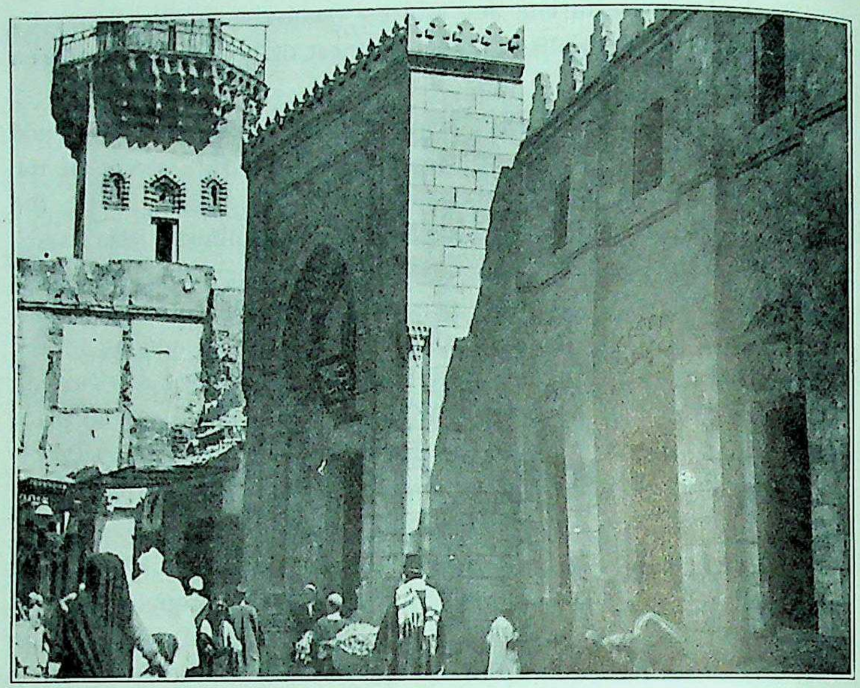
[2] *I.e.*, one who has performed the *jihad* or holy war: in Christian parlance, a Crusader.

[3] Mecca and Medina.



Courtesy of P. G. Elgood

AL-AZHAR

and adherence to tradition. The other was essentially secular and was characterized by European dress and manners, interest in science and in art, and modern industrial methods. Members of the latter group were usually neither atheistic nor heretical, but were inclined to regard the rigidity and obscurantism of the Azhar as foreign to the true spirit of Islam. The inevitable rivalry between the two groups was ever tempered, on the one hand, by fear of charges of heresy, and, on the other, by unwillingness to attack the servants of a prince whose divine right none would contest. From these two elements stem the religious and cultural problems of recent years.

During the reign of Ismail (1865-1879) the stream of intellectual activity in Egypt grew wider and deeper. This was due in part to the fact that the number of European residents in Egypt increased rapidly, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Recruited from all classes and nationalities, these, enjoying the countenance of the Khedive, became a part of the social life of the country. At the same time, there was a considerable influx of political and religious insurgents from other parts of the Islamic East seeking a haven in renascent Egypt. The Azhar steadily resisted the influences created by these new elements and in so doing earned the displeasure of the Khedive. Partly to bring al-Azhar into line with government policies, partly to reform the religious courts whose muftis[4] were recruited from graduates of the old university, Ismail proceeded in 1870 to dismiss the head of the university, Sheikh Mustafa al-Amrúsi. Thereupon, having replaced him with the more liberal Sheikh Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Abássi, he altered the constitution of al-Azhar, providing for the regulation of subjects of study, the systematizing of examinations, and improved governance of student affairs. This courageous step produced noteworthy results and introduced some modern elements into this stronghold of religious culture, even though these changes fell far short of effecting a fundamental or lasting reform.

Meanwhile, more popular and far-reaching influences were taking shape. In part these may be traced to a group of Azharites, led by Sheikh Hasan al-Tawil, who espoused some of the doctrines of the Sufi sect of the Senussis. These would have accomplished little, however, but for the arrival in Egypt in 1871 of a fiery revolutionary, al-Sayyid Jamál al-Din al-Afghani. Already distinguished for his wide travels, intellectual independence, and great moral courage, magnetic in appearance and in speech, Jamál al-Din supplied the revolutionary fervor essential to the development of any significant spiritual or intellectual movement. Among the pupils of Sheikh al-Tawil and among the young men of the modern school who, abroad or at home, had tasted the fruits of intellectual freedom, he found ready followers. Ambitious to accomplish the complete renaiscence of the East at one stroke, Jamál al-Din placed no bounds on his program, denouncing political despotism on the one hand and religious obscurantism on the other. Jamál al-Din maintained liberal views of a type particularly rare in Moslem lands. He had deep respect for all forms of knowledge, insisting that ignorance and superstition were inimical to the Islamic faith.

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[4] The title of *mufti*, which perhaps may be translated "superior judge," is held by certain high officials in the juristic world of Islam who have the power of issuing *fetwas* or rescripts on points of law.

Inevitably such advanced ideas seemed scandalous to the vested interests of state and religion. In 1879 Jamál al-Din was summarily expelled from Egypt. Somewhat later he was arrested for seditious teachings in India, and his latter years, until his death in 1898, were spent as a prisoner in a golden cage on the Bosphorus. Nevertheless, his influence persisted in Egypt and some of the many incongruous elements which characterized the Arabi upheaval of 1882 bore distinguishing marks of his teachings.

The crudely nationalistic revolt of Arabi not only failed from the military point of view by provoking British intervention, but also checked and discredited the religious reform trend loosely bound up in it. This was in part the natural outcome of the defeat of a nominally popular movement. More significantly, however, it was due to the dexterity with which the Caliph, Abdul Hamid, was able to transform the liberal revolt against unprogressive absolutism into a program for the defense and strengthening of the Caliphate. This was accomplished by shrewd agents, such as Latif Pasha Selim, who turned the general hostility to the British Occupation into religious channels. Rather than countenance an alien and Christian order, Egyptians were reminded that their country was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire and that the traditional unity of religion and state was still preserved by their Caliph and Sultan. In the course of this program, the Sultan's agents, aided by many of the sheikhs, found it expedient to denounce all modern innovations as dangerous and subversive. Many of the sheikhs actively participated in this movement, preferring the loose control of the Caliph to the stern hand of Britain. The masses were the more easily influenced because the Caliph, whose name was intoned every Friday in the mosques, was to them a religious symbol. So effective were these combined efforts that not until the early years of the twentieth century were there any new signs of reform in religious dogma and observance in Egypt.

The British, meanwhile, regarded these efforts to crystallize anti-British sentiment by encouraging the growth of Turkish influence with some natural apprehension. They found it necessary to proceed cautiously, nevertheless, lest in a difficult situation they give evidence of hostility to Islam and the Caliphate. In such a dilemma the young Khedive, Abbas Hilmi II, occupied a most difficult position. His loyalty and sincerity were likely to be suspected by the British on the one hand and by the Sultan on the other, while, being shorn of real power, he could scarcely avoid being regarded by the nation as a British tool. Although conservative at heart, he discerned presently in a new religious reform movement a possible opportunity to recover some influence and prestige, and in sponsoring the reform he gave impulse incidentally to one of the most significant trends of recent times in Egypt.

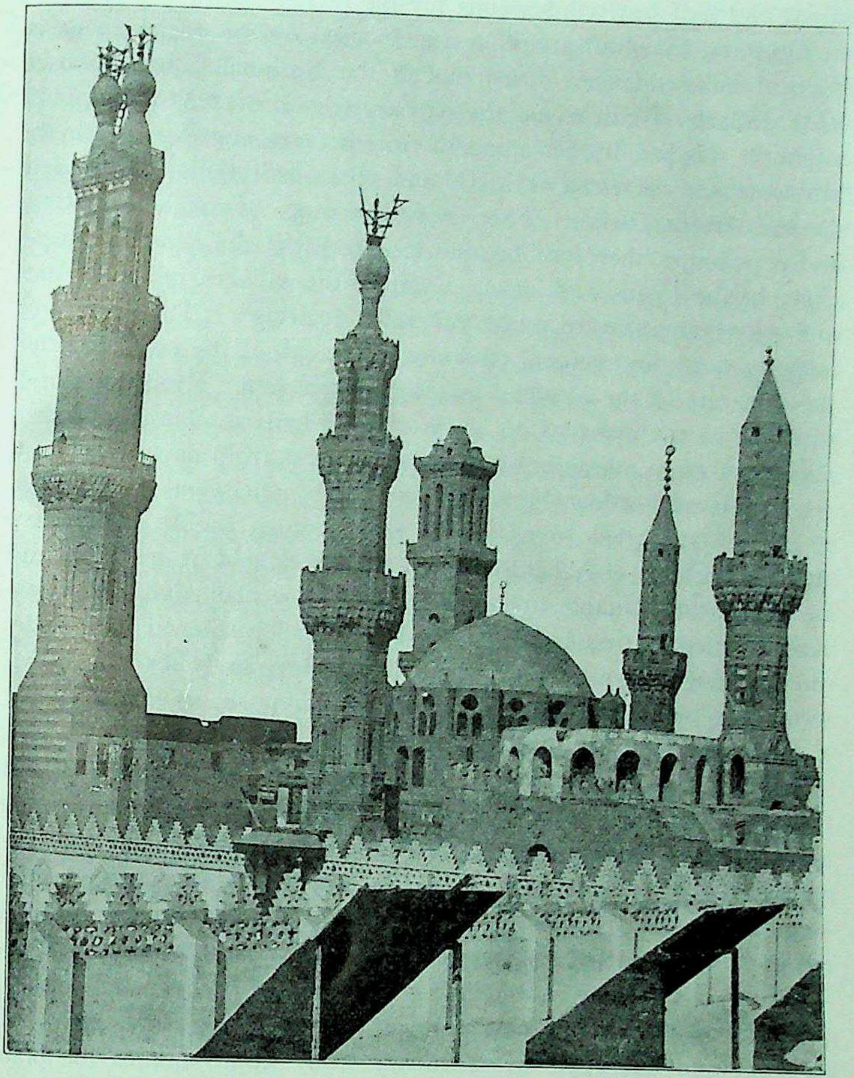
The new reform current emanated from the very portals of al-Azhar itself. There a group of religious savants, led by a man of remarkable intelligence and integrity of character, Sheikh Mohamed Abdu, had quietly set about revising the bases of Islamic thought and practice with the idea of bringing the faith more into accord with the modern world. Through the representations of this group, the Khedive readily became persuaded that the welfare of the body politic and of his own position would be augmented by a reform in religious instruction, commencing with the university itself.

As early as 1894 the Khedive embarked tentatively on the new course by appointing Sheikh Mohamed Abdu to the Board of al-Azhar, later advancing him to the important post of Grand Mufti of Egypt. Meanwhile, another able scholar, Hassuni al-Nawawi, who had long served in the higher Government schools, was appointed Sheikh al-Azhar or rector of the university. Thus supported, Sheikh Mohamed Abdu set out to preserve the best in the traditions of al-Azhar, while absorbing many concepts which were outgrowths of modern science. Through treatises and *fetwas,* books and lectures, he set forth the essentials of Islamic faith as viewed by an intellectual. In substance, he taught that "Islam is a religion of simplicity, conformable to nature and to reason. It takes form in sound doctrines, which are not beyond human grasp, and moral principles which inspire to right conduct, safeguard man's freedom and dignity, and impel him to strive toward perfection in all human activities." Maintaining that in its first purity Islam was a source of vitality, he advocated a return to the original sources of the faith, namely, the Koran and the Prophetic Guidance.

These views were not universally popular with the Egyptians. While some of the younger, who had received secular education and had felt western impulses, responded enthusiastically, many others were hesitant and fearful or jealous for their own interests as mentors of a superstitious people. These, conspiring to discredit Mohamed Abdu, were delighted to discover a friend in the Khedive. Originally committed to reform as a political instrument, Abbas found his purposes thwarted by the very forces which he had hoped to control. Quickly he learned that those who were ready to approach religion with an attitude of critical inquiry were the more inclined to speak freely and candidly with respect to matters of state. Presently, having lost the loyalty of conservative elements without having gained that of the progressives, the Khedive saw no alternative to returning to a reactionary policy, as many another prince has done, hoping to maintain among an ignorant and bigoted people an authority which is ever soluble in the ferment of new ideas. In 1905 Abbas found means of removing Sheikh Mohamed Abdu from al-Azhar and of forcing his colleagues into obscurity.

However, in a country which had been drawn so rapidly and so extensively into the purview of the western world, it was impossible to eliminate all traces of intellectual revolt. One of its more tangible consequences was the opening in 1907 of the Moslem School of Law, which was organized along lines drawn by Sheikh Mohamed Abdu some years earlier. Similar influences led to the founding of the Egyptian University in 1908, offering secular as well as Islamic studies after western models. Meanwhile, events associated with the rise of the Young Turk Party considerably weakened the position of the Caliph in Egypt and some of the reactionary forces in Egypt lost momentum. Al-Azhar, however, remained a scene of trouble and confusion where the struggles of rival parties were enhanced by constant interference on the part of the Khedive. One crisis quickly followed another within its walls until new issues arising from the Great War changed their trend.

The World War, while appealing to many kinds of religious prejudice and fanaticism, was little calculated to stimulate religious sentiment. Even such changes as might have resulted from the devotion and piety of Sultan Hussein Kamil were obstructed by his illness and early demise. However, the revolution which broke out immediately after the close of the War and shook Egypt to its very foundations contained implications of eventual consequence to the



AL-AZHAR MOSQUE AND UNIVERSITY

religious institutions of the country. For the first time since the Arab conquest in the seventh century political and religious interests were almost completely separated, for, with the exception of occasional and half-hearted demands for the revival of the Caliphate on an Egyptian basis, all attention was focused on the achievement of political independence. Even though the National Constitution of 1923 declared Islam to be the official religion of the state, public attention was rapidly becoming more and more engrossed with the problems and issues of civil life and with institutions borrowed in the main from Europe. The strict observance of religious customs and ceremonies therefore became less and less characteristic, especially in the towns and cities. Even in the villages religious fasts and observances were more generally neglected. There was no longer a quick and general response to the call of the muezzin from the minarets of the mosques to the daily prayers. Even the clocks of many of the mosques, as those of the Christian churches, traced the hours from midnight to noon rather than from dawn to sunset.

In this new order where social practices underwent daily change as Egypt struggled to assume a place among highly competitive modern nations, al-Azhar remained the stronghold of tradition and conservatism. Unable to compete with the secular educational system directed at first by English officials, and weakened further by the working of western leaven in the Moslem lands beyond Egypt, venerable al-Azhar was compelled to relinquish its monopolistic control of Islamic cultural development.

This retreat during the first decade or more following the World War proved, however, to be strategic. As the pristine fervor of the nationalist movement degenerated into party bickerings and the prosperity of post-War years faded before a period of unprecedented depression, the influence of the Sheikh al-Azhar again gained ground. This partial recovery, once begun, was substantially reinforced by a complete revamping of the outworn program of studies. The introduction of a new curriculum, embracing four years of primary and five years of secondary study, approximates the plan of the Government schools, except that in place of foreign languages there is an emphasis on the Arabic language and on Islamic doctrine. Beyond this are four years more of professional training for teaching in the Moslem sacred law courts and in advanced

Islamic culture. Still beyond this are prescribed three years of specialized or graduate study qualifying for distinguished Islamic leadership. Under this plan the old mosque becomes a place of worship only. New educational structures are to be built from the resources of the Wakfs, or Moslem Benevolent Endowments, to facilitate the new program. Branch schools already have been established in eight other centers in Egypt where nine of the sixteen years' course of instruction are offered. Thus, al-Azhar is still a factor of importance in the life of Egypt and one of the most potent influences retarding the penetration of western ideas and methods into every phase of Egyptian life.

As has been the case at other periods, the modern world is not veiwed uniformly by the leaders of Islam. A fairly distinct line of cleavage separates those who are disposed to adapt themselves to a changing world from others who, resisting modern tendencies, have been forced into ultra-conservative positions. The former hold that the sacred texts embrace all scientific truths—those apparent and those yet to be disclosed. These liberals would so interpret religious writings as to harmonize with them the results of scientific endeavor. It is their view that since reason is a criterion in Islam, it cannot conflict with the faith. All evidence, therefore, must be susceptible of rational interpretation. The reactionaries, on the other hand, led by the *ulema*[5] (sing. *alim*, scholar) of al-Azhar, still regard religion as a touchstone by which every manifestation must be tested. That which accords with Moslem theology *ipso facto* is true and good; that which contradicts is false and illusory. It remains, therefore, for all truth to be revealed through the interpreters of the Faith, who are, for the most part, the sheikhs of al-Azhar. The whole effort of this group has been to preserve a complete isolation from Christian, Jewish, or pagan thought. This, however, is a tendency quite as pronounced among the more conservative heads of other religious communities in Egypt.

The religious life of Egypt, of course, is not wholly bound up in Islam, although the Moslem community comprises some ninety

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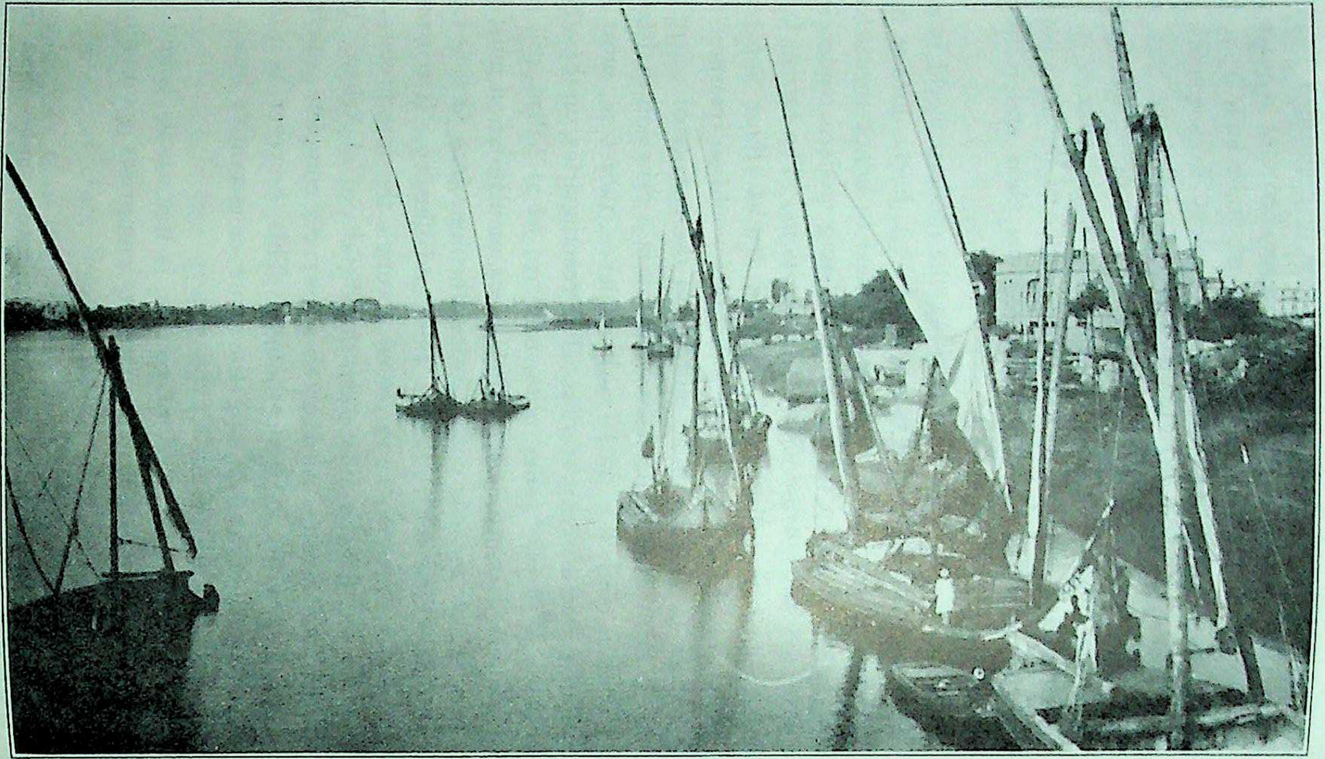
[5] The *ulema* are often known as "sheikhs" which distinguishes them from the less conservative "effendis," who are more or less Europeanized citizens.



Courtesy of H. I. Katibah

TRANSPORTATION ON THE NILE

per cent of the total population.[6] The remaining ten per cent, except for a small number of Jews, consists of the Copts, who form the main body of the Christian community, Greeks, Armenians, Roman Catholics, Syrians, and even Protestants. Others than the Copts and a portion of the Protestants do not enter into the life of the nation and so have no appreciable influence in the direction of religious currents.

The trends of religious thought in the Coptic community in recent times for a variety of reasons have followed those of the Moslems. The Patriarch of the Coptic Church in many respects is the counterpart of the Sheikh al-Azhar. Both represent conservative forces and stand as guardians over the forms and traditions of their respective faiths. Both have tremendous influence within their respective communities, the Patriarch being actually the spiritual head of his flock as the successor of St. Mark, the traditional founder of the Christian Church in Egypt. As the Moslem looks to the Koran, the *Hadith,* and the *ulema* (sheikhs) for authority, the Copt reveres the Bible, the church councils and the priesthood. For many centuries, however, both Moslem and Copt have been exposed to much the same influences, and while there is little contact between the two communities, each regarding the other with jaundiced eye, they have followed similar courses. Among these Christians, as among the Mohammedan population, there are progressives or modernists, though inconsiderable in number and influence. The Protestants, on the other hand, while reflecting many a hue of religious doctrine, have exerted an influence in Egypt during the last three-quarters of a century quite disproportionate to their numbers. This has been due, in part, perhaps, to their closer contact with powerful external political forces, their extraordinary standard of literacy and their zeal for education. Thus, while they constitute less than one-half of one per cent of the entire population of Egypt, they may be credited with a material share of the intellectual ferment characteristic of the country in recent times.

How deep and far reaching are the new attitudes it is extremely difficult to estimate. In a land so long steeped in abysmal ignorance and in which every aspect of life has been completely circumscribed by superstition and tradition and dominated by a fanatical ruling element, only the most hopeful can see the emergence in our time of a new Egypt in which progress as defined by western standards will be the order of the day. Such a change is the less likely since scientific changes and modern trends have compelled the forces of conservation to look to their defences and have thrust many of the more timid with liberal inclinations back into the ranks of fundamentalism.

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[6] See "Modern Religious Tendencies in Egypt," by Sheikh Aly Abdel Razek Bey and Dean Robert S. McClenahan, in *The New Orient,* a series of monographs on Oriental Culture published for The New Orient Society of America by the Open Court Publishing Co., 1933, pp. 387-404.

That some permanent changes in religious attitude and thought will ensue from an increase in literacy and from the introduction of technological improvements, medical science, and new social habits is inevitable. For example, Moslems no longer cavil at receiving interest on bank deposits. The Egyptian Government itself has established a postal savings bank. No longer are emergencies and crises ascribed to the will of Allah in such measure as to make provision for them appear impracticable, as formerly. Very recently the Azhar authorities themselves have departed from the fatalism which has been the very spirit of Islam by taking out insurance to cover one of the statliest shrines in Egypt, the mighty mosque of Mohamed Aly in Cairo. Such evidences are indicative of changes which are surely more than superficial and which point a trend toward freedom of thought. This trend is no longer confined, as it may have been at an earlier period, to political considerations. It now embraces the broad field of religious and social life in a way which can not be prevented by authority or dogma. Present tendencies point to an increase in this spirit of inquiry and to an adaptation and recasting of the religious thinking of the nation.

Thus, among both Moslems and Christians in Egypt the reinterpretation of theology is face to face with demands and influences which place the faith of former generations in a new perspective. The changes which undoubtedly are taking place can not yet be measured, but it is evident that many of them are more than superficial. Even though they may tend toward scepticism, agnosticism, or atheism, they signify a strong trend toward freedom of thought. The breaking through of the Egyptian physical barrier and the creation of a European highway to the East in the nineteenth century perhaps has a counterpart in the breaching of Egyptian fundamentalism by the currents of European thought in our day.

THE CHINESE EXHIBITION IN LONDON

BY CHARLES FABENS KELLEY

TEN O'CLOCK of the evening of March 7th, 1936, saw the close of one of the most significant art events ever to have taken place in our modern western world, for then were the doors shut upon the great exhibition of Chinese Art held at Burlington House, the seat of the Royal Academy in London. The history of this exhibition is astonishing, for apparently insuperable obstacles had been surmounted, one by one, and the response of the public, always problematic, had exceeded all expectations. The show had received marvellous advertising, for months before it opened the London Art Magazines, the illustrated weeklies, and even the daily papers had carried articles subtly calculated to arouse interest. The British railroads had made special excursion rates, and "special facilities" were offered to visitors from abroad. Had it not been for the death of King George there is no doubt that all attendance records would have been shattered. Nevertheless, between November 27th, 1935, and March 7th, 1936, over 422,000 people attended the exhibition. Countless excursions of school children were organized all over the island, and sizeable excursions came from many continental countries. If one were a serious student of things Chinese the chances were that he met there in the galleries everyone he had corresponded with, heard of, or known, of similar interests from the remotest corners of the globe. For this sort of thing London seems to be the true center of the world.

An enterprise of such magnitude provoked all sorts of opinions, reasoned and otherwise, but regardless of final verdicts as to quality, it is amazing that such an exhibition could have been organized at all, and the real reason for its taking place was without doubt the almost fanatical energy and persistence of Sir Percival David.

A committee of four, Sir Percival David, director of the exhibition, R. L. Hobson, connoisseur extraordinary of Chinese porce-

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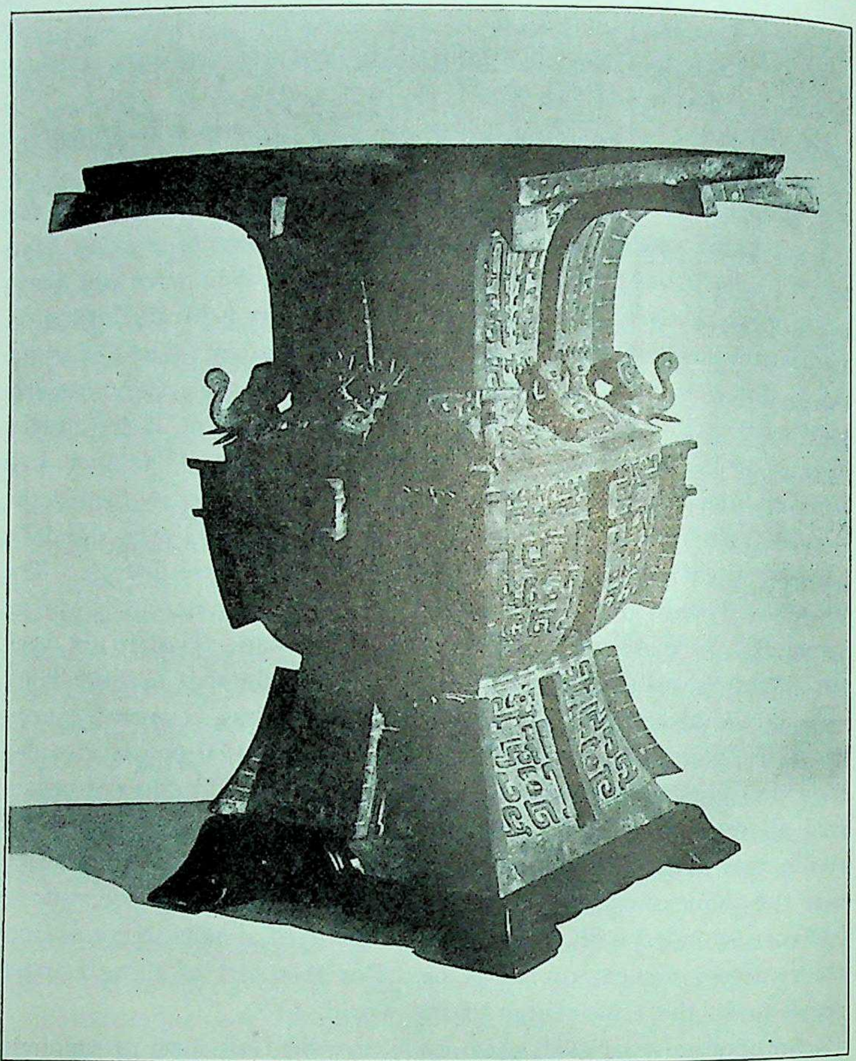


BRONZE CEREMONIAL WINE VESSEL, WITH INSCRIPTION

Possibly before the 12th Century B. C. Lent by the Chinese Government. Elephant's heads may be noticed on the shoulders of the vessel. It is now known that elephants were kept at the Chinese capital before that date. A few years ago these would have been considered an anachronism.

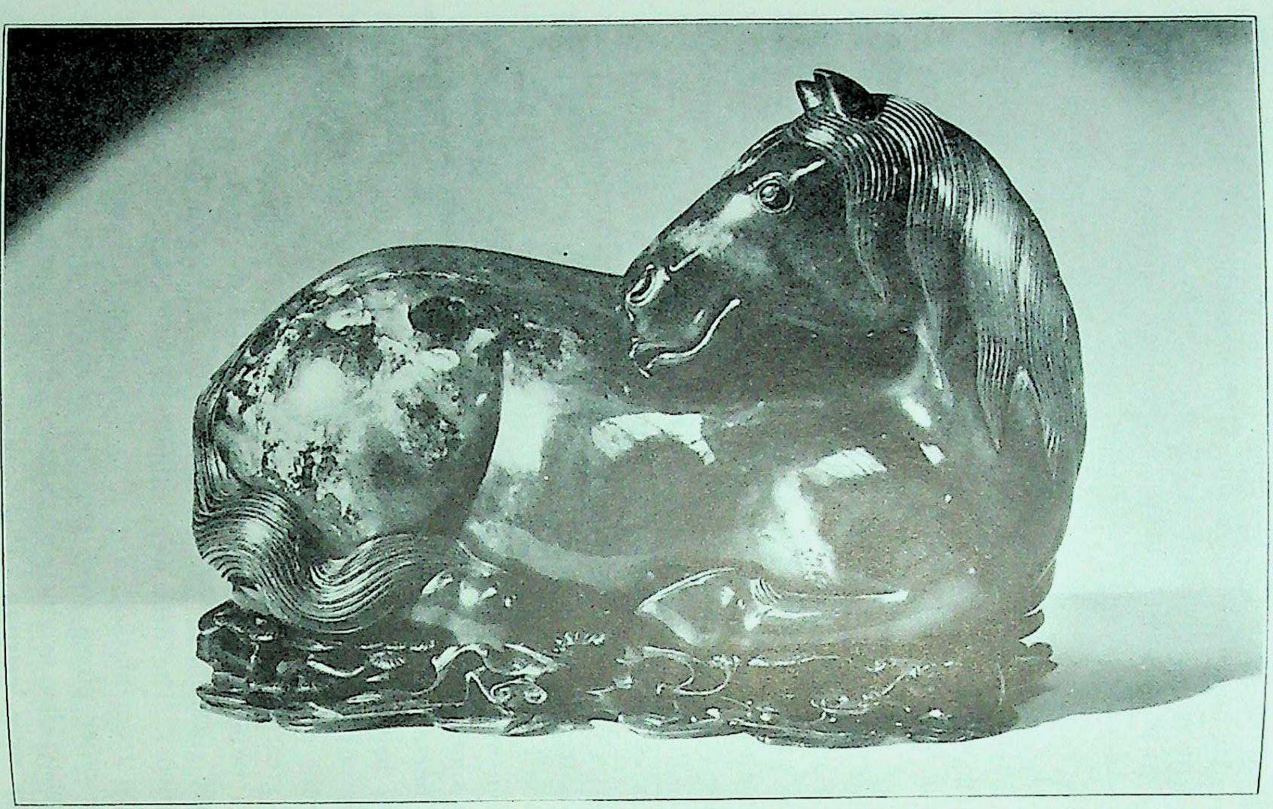
lains and keeper of the British Museum collections, George Eumorfopoulos, perhaps the most outstanding of collectors of Chinese art, and Oscar Raphael, honorary curator of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University, a volunteer on the staff of the British

Museum, and one of the world's most discriminating Orientalists, traveled together around the world to invite collectors, museums, and governments to lend their choicest objects. They went to India, China, Japan, and America, and after their return to London, Mr. Eumorfopoulos journeyed to Moscow and obtained some very rare things from the Soviet Government. There were also advisory committees in other European countries.

The exhibition was almost too large to be crowded into galleries of such modest dimensions, but special cases of ingenious design with interior illumination showed the bronzes and porcelains to advantage.

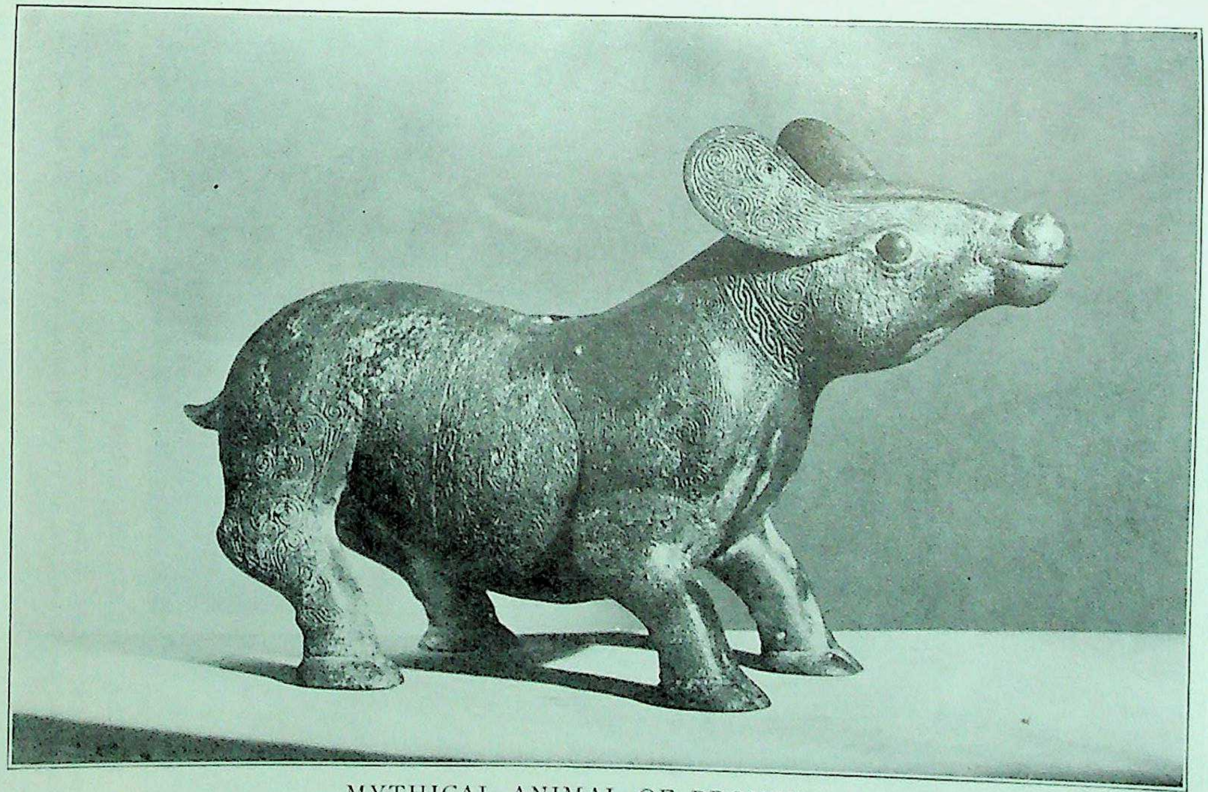
The bronzes were probably the major attraction, for here was shown a larger number of fine pieces than had ever been gathered together before in the western hemisphere, and one could study a bronze not only as a single piece, but for its relationship to the family of ceremonial bronzes as a whole. Inevitably one found that the majority consisted of variations upon types, and the very number of the bronzes shown gave some hope of a far more logical classification than has hitherto been achieved. Indeed an attempt was made to introduce a different chronological grouping. The Chinese government was very generous in the number of bronzes sent, but great disappointment was expressed that none of the pieces excavated at Anyang was shown, for they date without doubt from the Shang Dynasty, before 1200 B. C. and are certain to prove to be another Rosetta stone for the untangling of the chronology of Chinese bronzes. It was said that the Academia Sinica, not having had sufficient time to study these finds, felt it impossible to release them for the exhibition, although a fragment of sculpture from the excavations was shown.

A great variety of patination of the bronzes was noted, and there was a rather sharp differentiation between the bronzes from the Chinese government and those from the European and American collections. The first were almost all of a dull, lusterless color, ranging from blackish brown to a leadlike, brownish grey. Most of the other pieces were strongly patinated with malachite green or azurite blue, products of chemical change, and the surfaces frequently were lustrous. This naturally raised the question whether the Chinese government had restricted the loans to certain types of



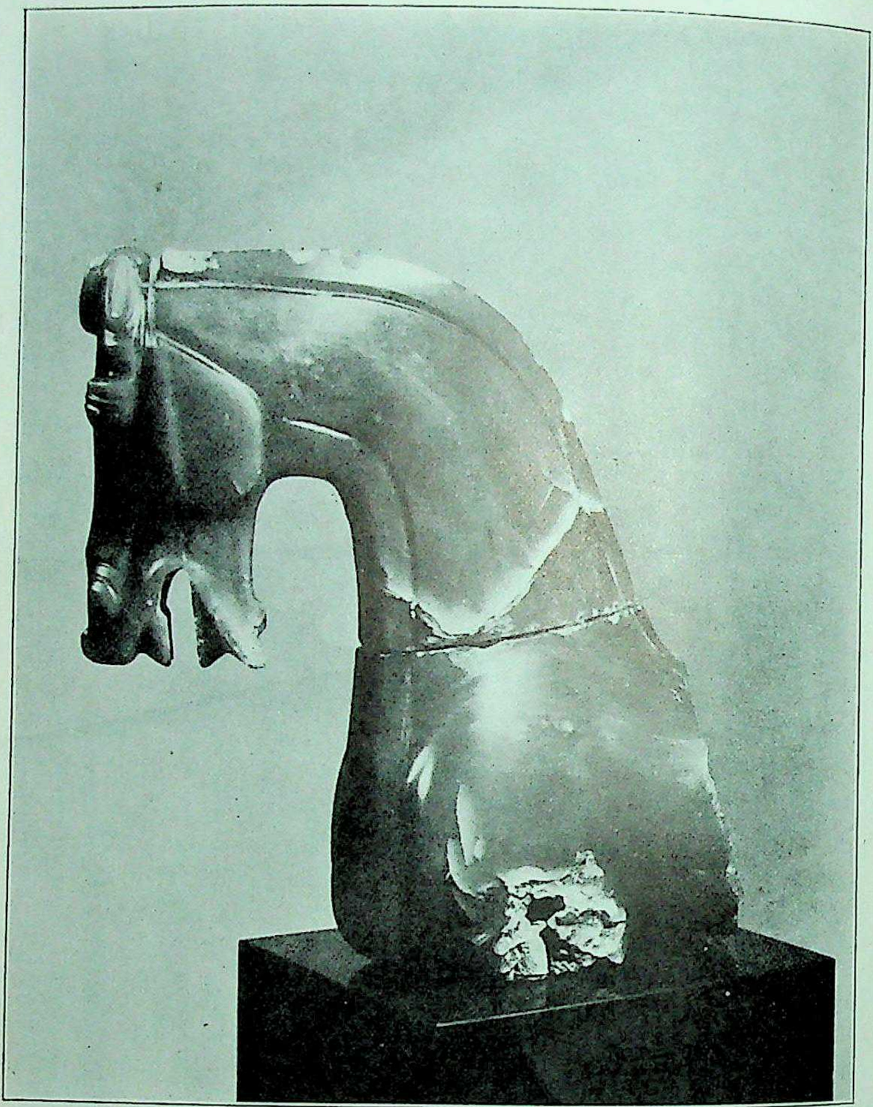
BLACK JADE HORSE, 9TH CENTURY A. D.

Lent by Oscar Raphael, London. This is a masterpiece of compact carving, and was long in the Imperial Collection, for it was brought to Peking in 1422 A. D. by the Emperor Yung-lo.



MYTHICAL ANIMAL OF BRONZE

Period of the Warring States (481-221 B. C.). Lent by H. J. Oppenheim, London.



HORSE'S HEAD AND SHOULDERS IN GREY-GREEN JADE

Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—A. D. 220). Lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum (Eumorfopoulos Collection. This piece is famous for its texture and surface as well as for its sculptural quality.

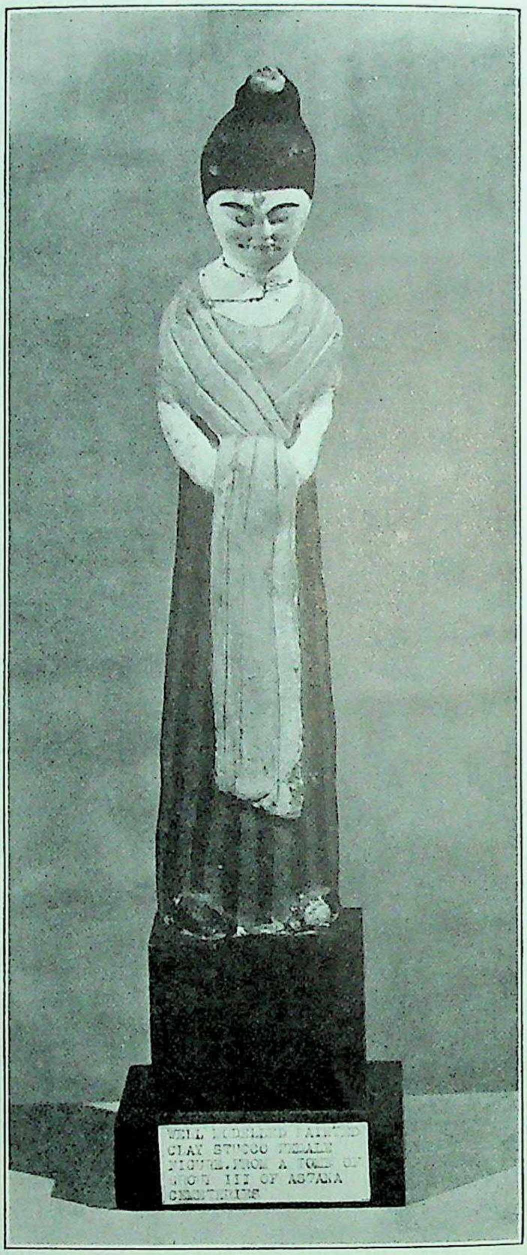
bronzes, or whether the taste of occidental and oriental collectors differs as regards the choicest examples. One thing was made quite clear—that the type called tentatively Ts'in or Huai, with intricately interlaced decorative patterns of great precision and delicacy, must have extended over a far longer period than had been thought.

There was a brilliant display of bronzes inlaid with gold and silver of the Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—A. D. 221), or possibly earlier, which were marvels of virtuosity. These came from all over the world. For example, one fine halberd handle was lent by the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts; another similar type came from the Eumorfopoulos collection, and an exquisite belt-hook in the form of a white jade dragon surrounded by a coiled bronze hydra, inlaid in silver and gold, came from the Buckingham Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Some of the world's most notable jades were there, among the finest of them those from the collection of Oscar Raphael of London. One of these was a large recumbent buffalo, weighing about sixty-six pounds, and believed to have been carved in the Han Dynasty. In form it is very compact, retaining the shape of the boulder from which it was fashioned. Whether or not it is a Han piece, it has a fine pedigree, for an inscription on the base records that in 1422 the Ming Emperor, Yung Lo, took it to Peiping with him. It is a far cry from this massive, heavy, subtle animal to the ornate and often over-elaborated work of the Chi'en Lung period (1736-1795), of which perhaps too many examples were shown, though among them were some very fine pieces.

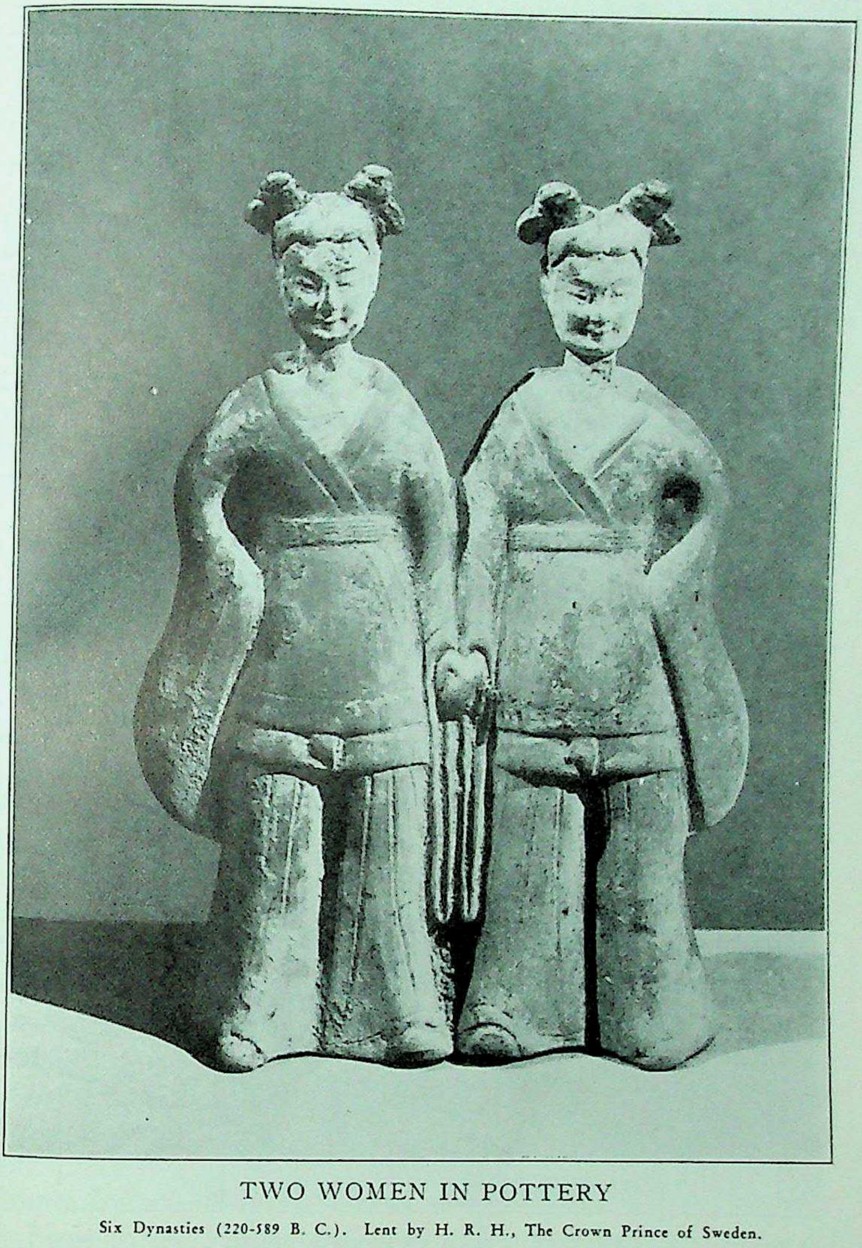
In table cases were the tomb jades, mostly small pieces of ceremonial type dating from the Chou Dynasty (1122—255 B. C.). These were very well represented and came from sources as far apart as China and America, for one of the finest examples, an intricate pierced pendant, came from the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. Many of the little pieces were pierced with tiny holes so that they could be sewed to garments, and long burial had often produced exquisite effects of color, patination and sheen.

Sculpture is very difficult to borrow for exhibition purposes on account of its weight and the many difficulties of packing and transportation, yet several noted pieces were there, the largest, and


WELL MODELLED PAINTED
CLAY STUCCO FEMALE
FIGURE. FROM A TOMB OF
GROUP III OF ASTANA
CEMETERIES

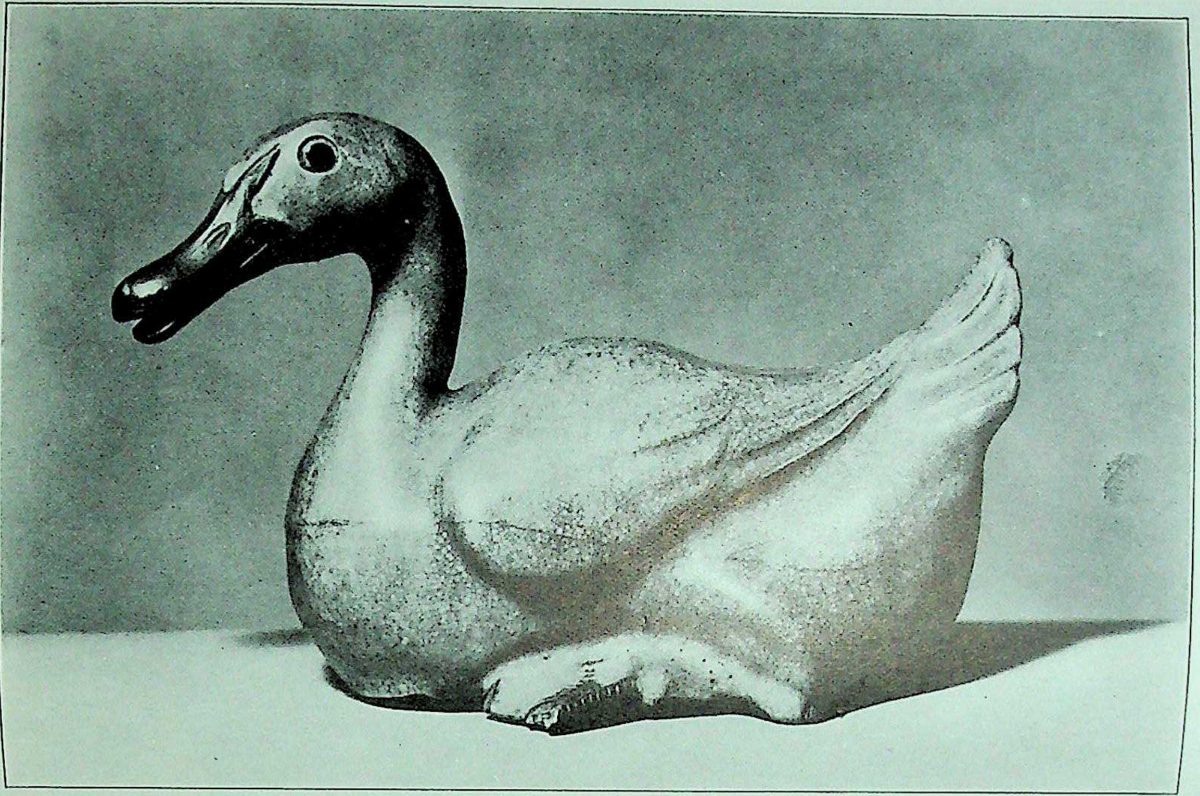
PAINTED STUCCO FIGURE FROM ASTANA

Seventh Century A. D. Lent by the Government of India. (Stein Collection).



TWO WOMEN IN POTTERY

Six Dynasties (220-589 B. C.). Lent by H. R. H., The Crown Prince of Sweden.



STONEWARE DUCK

Glazed in light greyish-blue. K'ang-Hsi Period (1662-1722). Lent by Dr. Robert Von Klemperer, Berlin.

one of the best being a standing Amitabha, the Buddha of boundless light, over eighteen feet high. This colossal limestone figure stood in the central hall, calm, dignified, imposing. The sculptor had been able to infuse into its huge bulk a serenity and timelessness which made it definitely impressive. The Buddha was lent by C. T. Loo of Paris, who was very active in assisting the organizers of the exhibition, and contributed the rough hemp wall coverings which served as a charming background. Two of the finest sculptures came from the University of Pennsylvania Museum—one a huge stone slab carved in high relief with one of the battle chargers, "Autumn Dew," of the Emperor T'ai Tsung, who ruled from 627 to 649. The groom is shown removing an arrow from the docile little beast: it is great sculpture, solid, sincere, and well organized, and is perhaps the most famous slab outside of China. The other object is a life-sized seated Buddhist mystic (Lohan) in glazed pottery, but should really be considered as sculpture because of its plastic strength. Strangely enough the British Museum owns an equally fine Lohan, and possesses a first-class replica of the battle charger, but a curious law prevented their removal from the British Museum building, so at great expense the others were brought from America.

When human beings and animals are modeled in clay and baked it is extremely difficult to say whether they should be considered as pottery or sculpture. Perhaps only those which far transcend the routine performance of the potter's craft are entitled to be called sculpture. After all it is the dominating purpose rather than the material which should be the determining factor, and by these canons many of the small figurines of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907) and the immediately preceding period are truly sculptural. There were some charming small pottery figures which could not fail to remind classical scholars of the Tanagra figurines. Two little maidens, modeled in one piece, and only a few inches high came from the Crown Prince of Sweden, and were very popular with the visitors, but close competitors for honors were the decidedly matronly pair, only a little larger, which had come from Chicago, from the Potter Palmer Collection.

Some of the smaller sculptures might have been classified as bronzes, but their exquisite modeling and spirited, purposeful, exe-

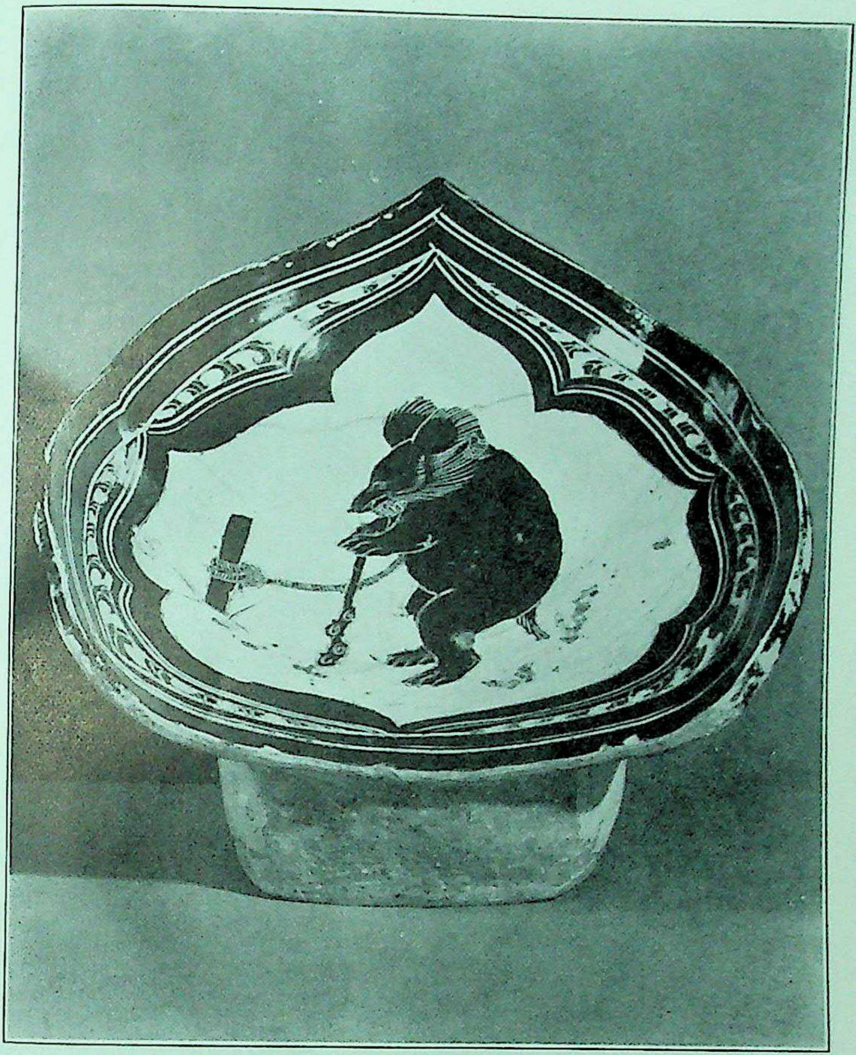
Glazed in light greyish-blue. K'ang-Hsi Period (1662-1722). Lent by Dr. Robert Von Klemperer, Berlin.

cution raised them above the so-called minor arts. Among these were two magnificent gilt bronze altar groups, loaned by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of New York City. These, with her famous limestone statute of a Bodhisattva occupied one of the positions of honor, and a dry lacquer figure of a seated Lohan of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) can hardly be surpassed. While the large limestone figure was one of the most beautiful of all the sculptures it seemed less typically Chinese than the others, for in spite of its undoubted authenticity it seems in a class by itself, unrelated to its contemporaries.

Some of the most interesting things of all were loaned by the government of India and among them were some of the fruits of Sir Aurel Stein's excavations in Chinese Turkestan as well as earlier things from Lou-lan, a Han site. These constituted a really remarkable exposition of designs and weaves of the early centuries from Han to T'ang, and showed a great variety of technique from pile carpet through silk damask and formally figured silks and silk tissue. These were of course in fragments, often badly faded, but of extreme importance to serious students of textiles.

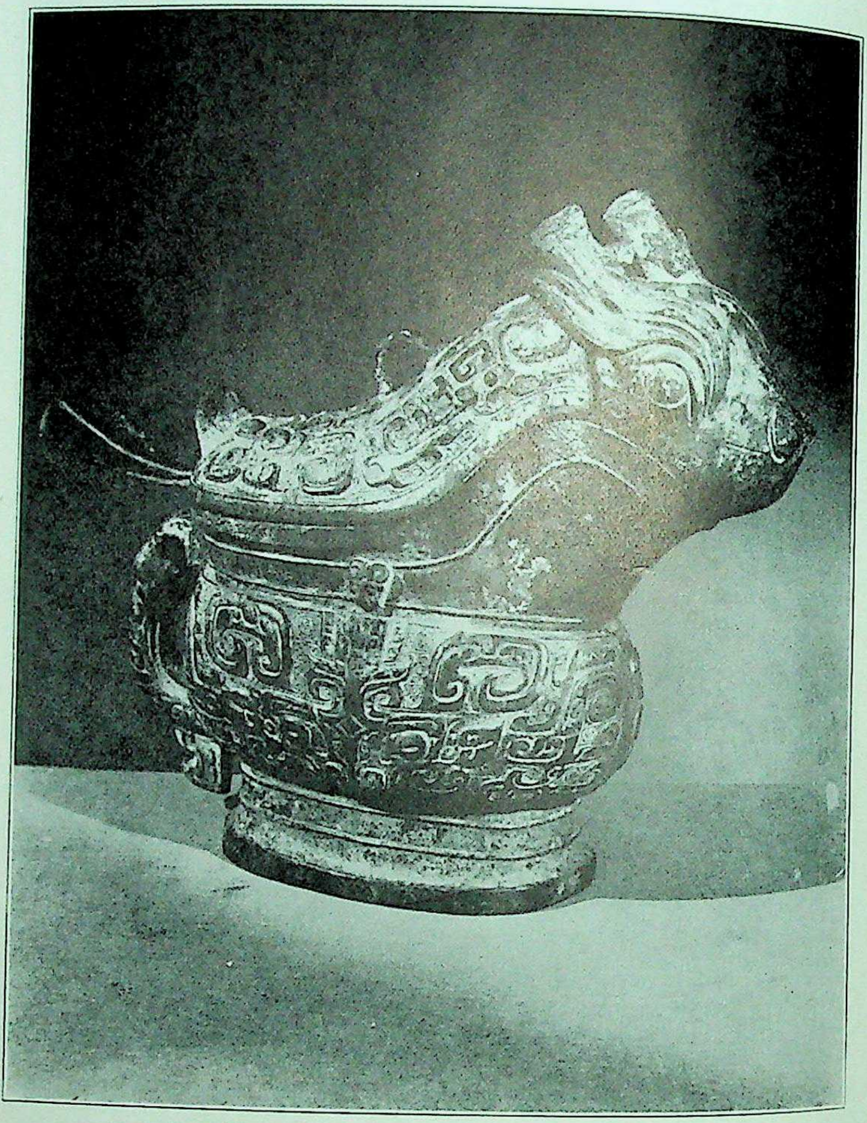
Among the Indian loans, easily understood and liked by everyone, were a sweet little maiden, a fichu crossed surplice-wise upon her breast, standing with bowed head and clasped hands in an attitude of shy simplicity, and another figure in a broad hat sitting astride a horse. These were in stucco, only a few inches tall, and highly colored. The little maid's skirt was striped vertically in dark red and blue, and her waist was cool green, her hair black, and her cheeks decidedly pink. The freshness and realism of these figures, over 1000 years old, made history a vital and living thing to the public, while the contemporary textile fragments appealed, of course, only to the specialists.

But some of the most interesting paintings, fragmentary too, alas, came also from the Indian Government. The remains of two silk friezes which originally must have represented court ladies and attendants in a garden, if we may hazard a guess from the relics, were astonishing in the directness of the painting, the brilliancy and clarity of the colors and the general air of sophistication. The salvaging and remounting of these fragments was a true triumph of the restorer's art in the best sense of the word for there was



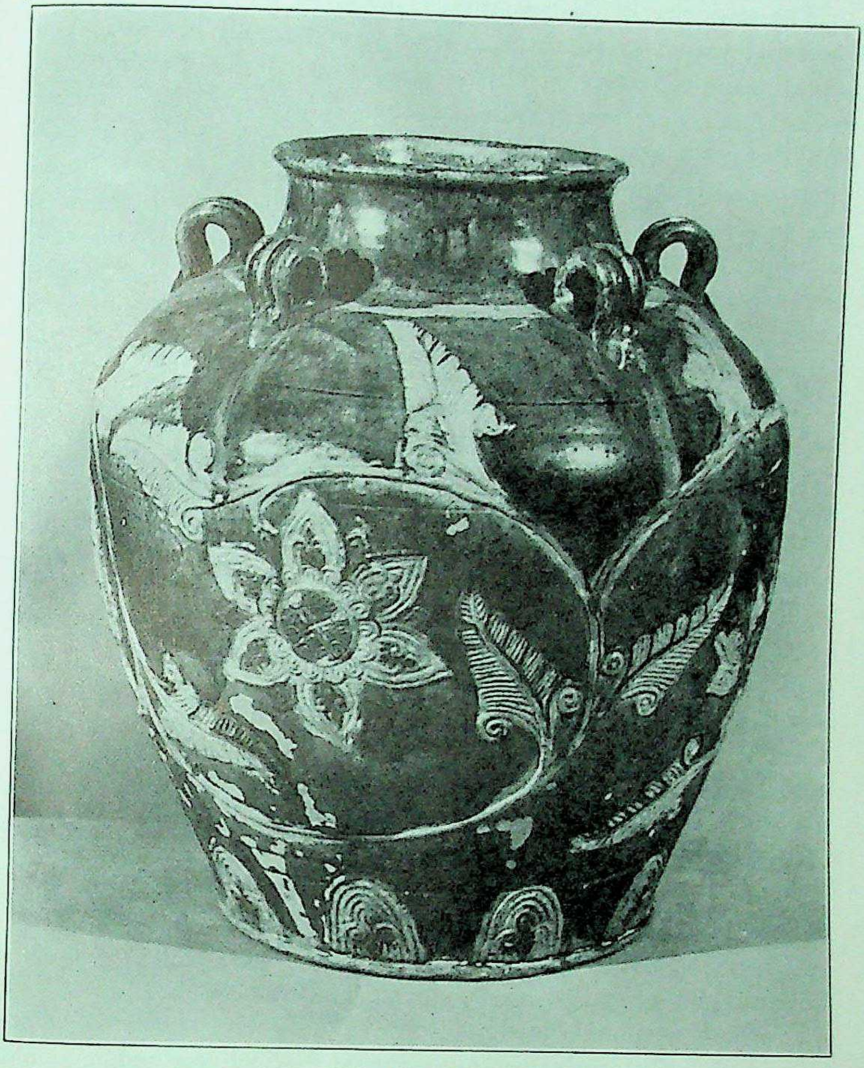
STONEWARE PILLOW

Decorated in black on white slip. Tz'u Chou ware Sung Dynasty (960-1279). From the British Museum (Eumorfopoulos Collection).



BRONZE WINE VESSEL (KUANG)

Cover with ladle; partitioned interior with inscription. Early Chou Dynasty (112-249 B. C.).
Lent by Oscar Raphael, London.



STONEWARE JAR

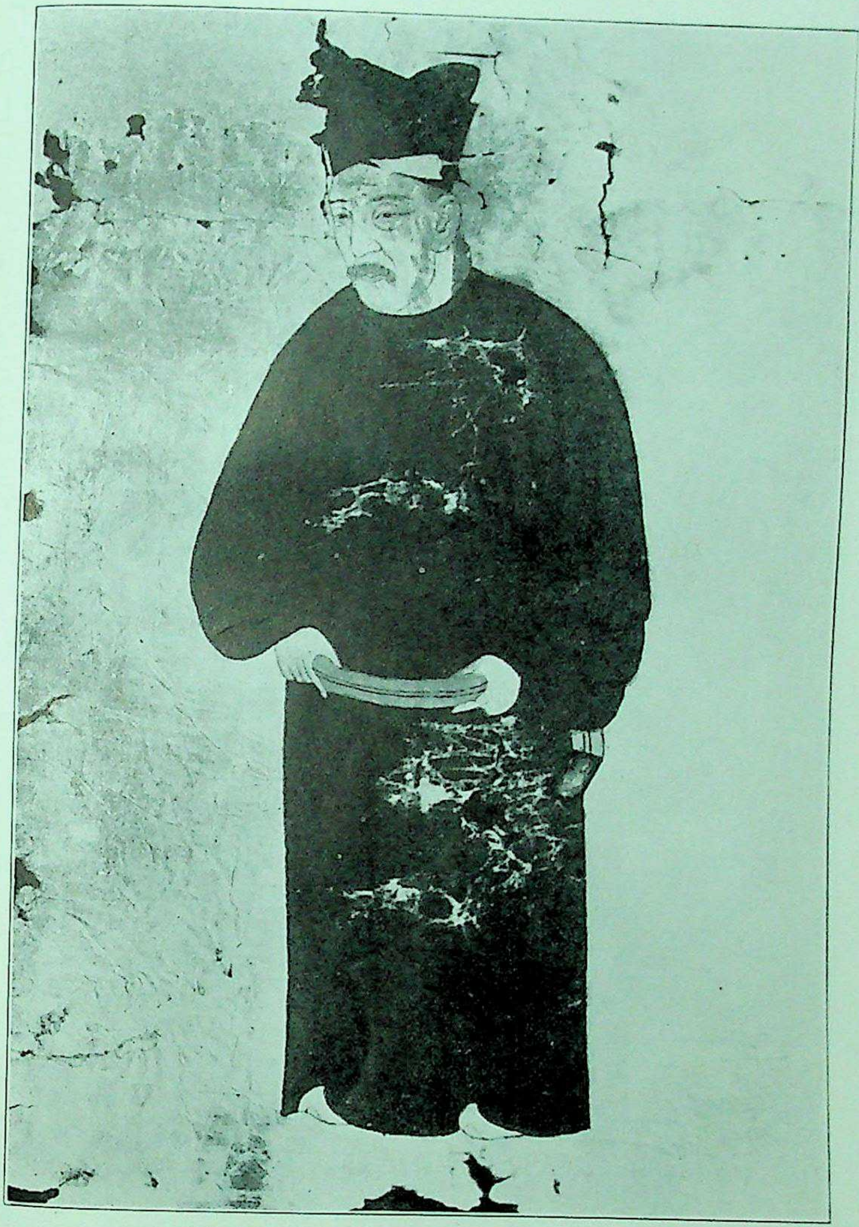
With relief decoration on a green glazed ground. Ming Dynasty (1568-1644). Loaned by the University of Oxford (Ashmolean Museum). This jar has long been in England for it was once owned by John Tradescant (d. 1627) and was presented to Elias Ashmole in 1657 no repainting, and indeed a foreign touch would have been immediately apparent.

The majority of the paintings came from the Chinese government and varied greatly in date, quality, and subject matter. Two superb paintings were scrolls on paper, one of herons, mandarin ducks, and lotus, bearing the dashing signature of the Emperor Hui Tsung (d. A D. 1135) that patron saint of Sung artists, and the other an autumn scene of deer in a forest, which I should not hesitate to place ahead of any other animal painting I have seen. If no other paintings than these had been shown China would have been worthily represented so far as quality is concerned. The majority of the earlier paintings have turned very dark from age, and were so installed that they were very difficult to see. The Chinese government sent many paintings of the Ming (1638-1644) and Ching (1644-1912) Dynasties well worthy of study, and more easily visible on account of better preservation, but the two paintings above referred to were in a class by themselves.

The Honolulu Academy of Arts sent a wonderful scroll in ink called the Hundred Geese, but it looked as if there must have been a thousand. Everything that geese know about themselves was revealed to the masterly painter of this splendid scroll. The Detroit Museum sent a fine scroll in colors on paper, of frogs on lotus leaves with dragonflies and other insects darting over their heads—a fine work of the Yüan Dynasty, called "Early Autumn." A beautiful landscape scroll in ink on silk and ascribed to Hsia Kuei of the Sung Dynasty was among the many noteworthy contributions of the Nelson Gallery of Kansas City.

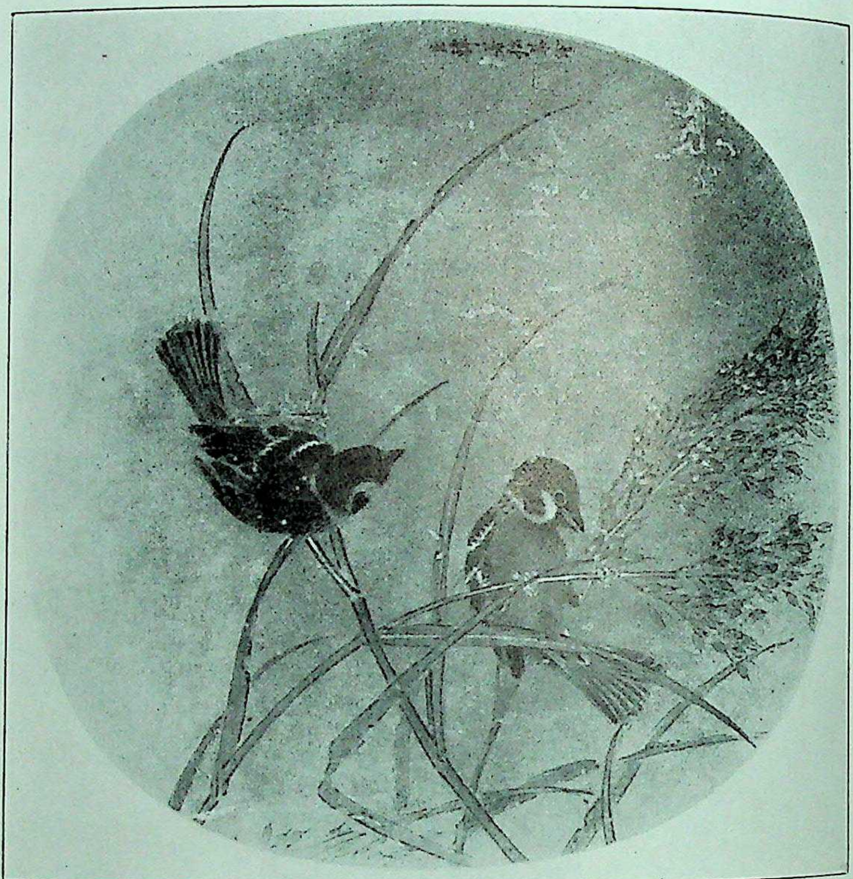
Only a few paintings came from Japan, but they were among the best, the favorite perhaps being the ink painting of two sparrows on a bamboo spray by Mu Chi (thirteenth century) from the Nedzu Collection in Tokyo.

Perhaps we should mention here the meticulous copies of paintings in the silk tapestry weave (Ko'ssu) which the public could hardly believe were woven instead of painted. Many were fine in color and composition, and were excellent examples of what the Chinese can do as expert craftsmen. Certainly those loaned by the Chinese Government were finer than had been seen before by westerners.



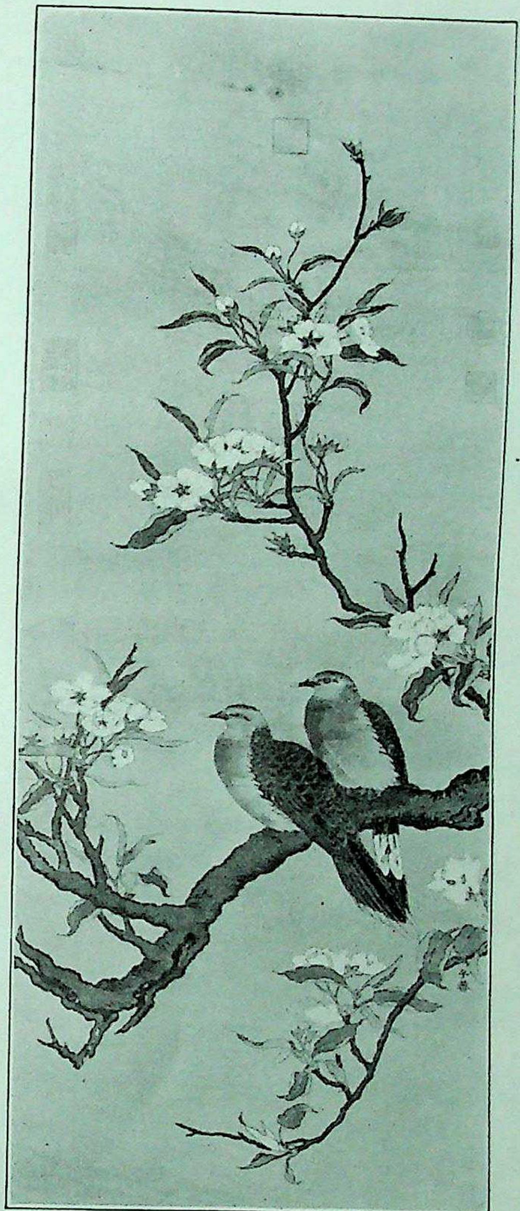
PAINTING IN COLOR ON PAPER

Sung or Yuan Dynasty (14th Century?). Lent by the Government of the Soviet Union. The colors are very simple and pleasing; a plum-colored robe with red sash, and hands and face a flat, flesh-color.



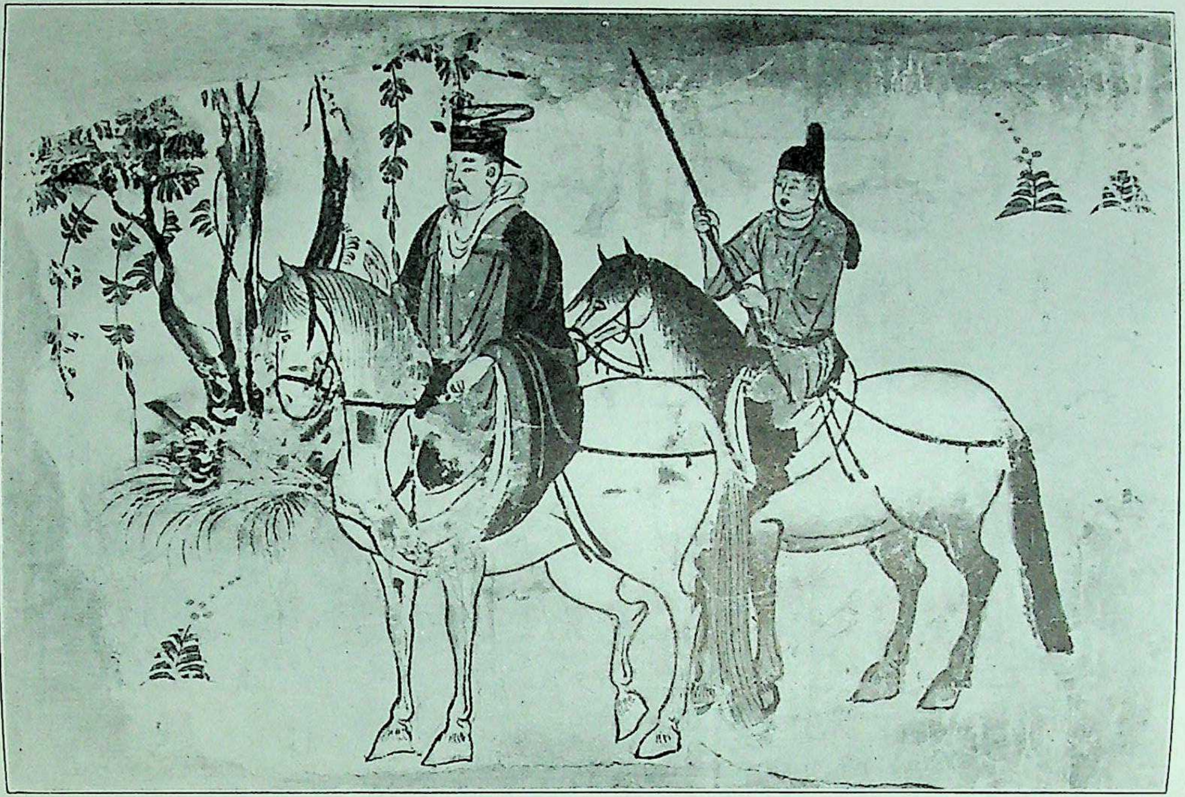
SPARROWS AND RICE STALKS

Album painting on paper with traces of color. Signed Han Jo-cho. Sung Dynasty (960-1279). Lent by the German Stat Museums, Berlin.



SILK TAPESTRY (K'O SSU)

Lent by the Chinese Government. These meticulously woven panels were often copied from paintings with such keen regard for the form and color that they could easily be mistaken for true paintings. This ascribed to the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) but is probably later.



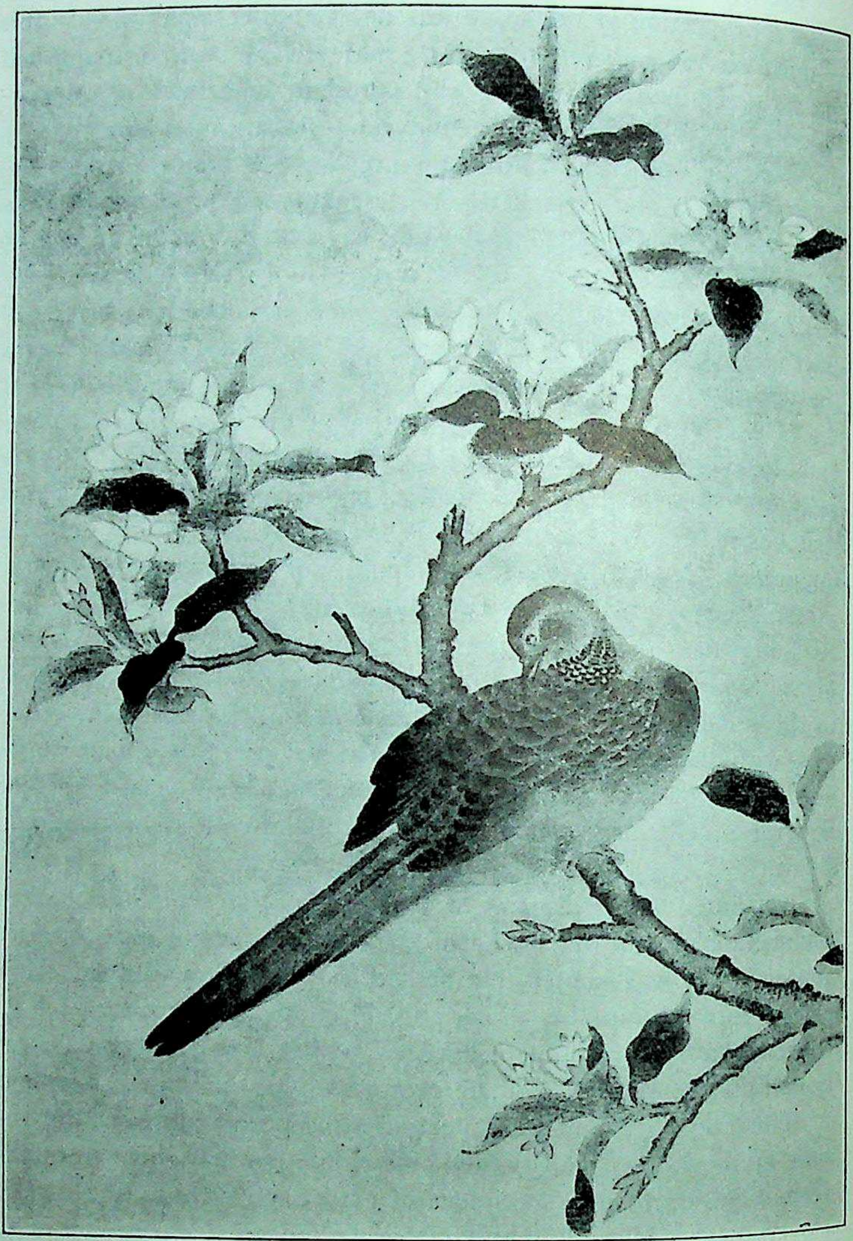
TWO HORSEMEN

A small painting in color on paper, probably 7th Century A. D. Lent by Musee du Louvre, Paris (Pelliot Collection). This is in astonishing preservation and a very lively thing.

From the point of view of the public it might be said that too large a proportion of the space was devoted to ceramic wares. But it must be remembered that China has always been distinguished for its preëminence in pottery and porcelain, and much more progress has been made in their study and classification than in any other of the branches of artistic expression. It was therefore possible to have a more completely representative showing of ceramics than of anything else, and it would have been a great mistake to curtail the space devoted to ceramics to any considerable degree. Yet even in this magnificent showing the earlier works were distinctly slighted. The emphasis was by no means even, nor were the different classifications as well represented as might have been the case. But thanks to the coöperation of the Chinese Government and the western collectors (principally English, and more principally Sir Percival David) a collection of Sung wares was shown that has never been dreamed of before and can probably never be duplicated. There were fine examples of Ting, Chün, celadon; rarest specimens of those two almost indistinguishable brothers, Ko and Kuan ware; and, it was fondly believed, typical examples of the finally isolated Ju ware (pronounced Ru). These appealed to the public at large by their sober beauty, but dazzled the collectors with their subtle charm and qualities perceptible only to the initiated. The display of Temmoku, or Chien ware was disappointing, for much finer pieces existed in London collections than were shown.

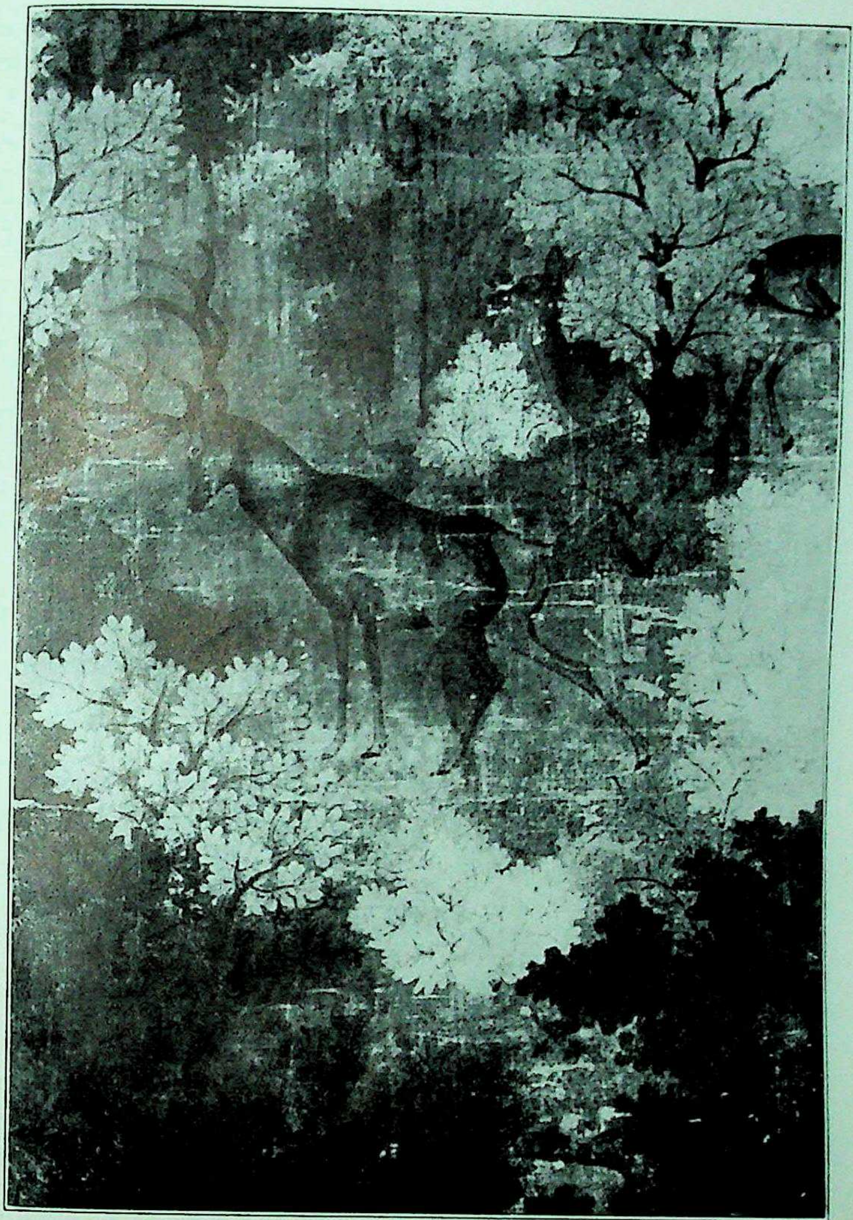
As hinted above it was in the field of Sung pottery that the astonishing quality of Sir Percival David's collection was so easily apparent. It was known that he had acquired some sixty-six Sung pieces formerly in the Imperial Collections as a nucleus for his collection a few years ago, but the quality throughout was exceptional, and he showed a number of rare types in superb examples.

The English have been collecting Ming porcelains from the very time of the Ming Dynasty, and this exhibition brought many pieces from seclusion to join specimens of great rarity sent by the Chinese Government. Here Turkey collaborated to great effect, for in the fifteenth century the Turks had been keen purchasers of Chinese porcelains. The Topkapu Museum of Istanbul sent some fine specimens, particularly blues and whites of the Hsüan Te reign (1426-



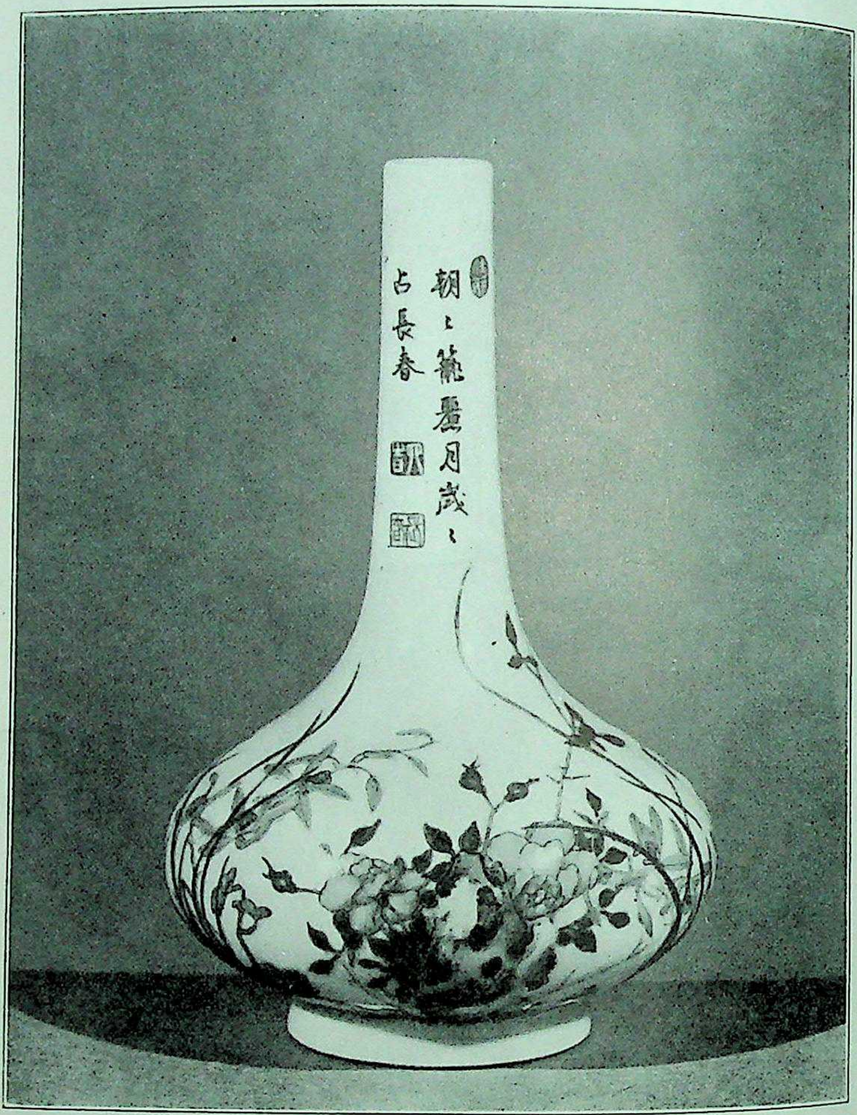
PIGEON ON PEAR TREE

A painting on paper by Ch'ien Hsuan (1255-B. C. 1290). Lent by Kaichiro Nedzu, Tokyo.



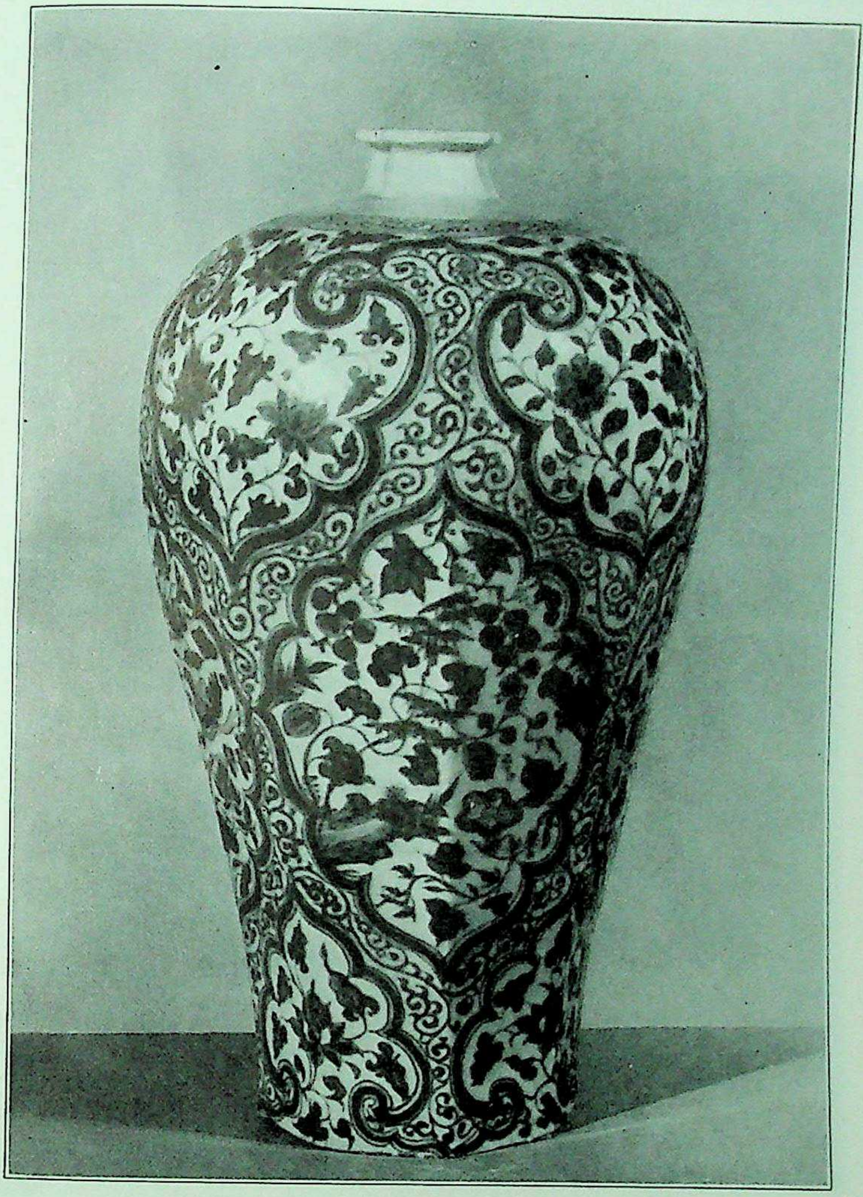
A HERD OF DEER IN A FOREST

Detail of a painting in color on silk. Five Dynasties? (907-960). Lent by the Chinese Government. The drawing of the animals, only a few inches high, is masterly.



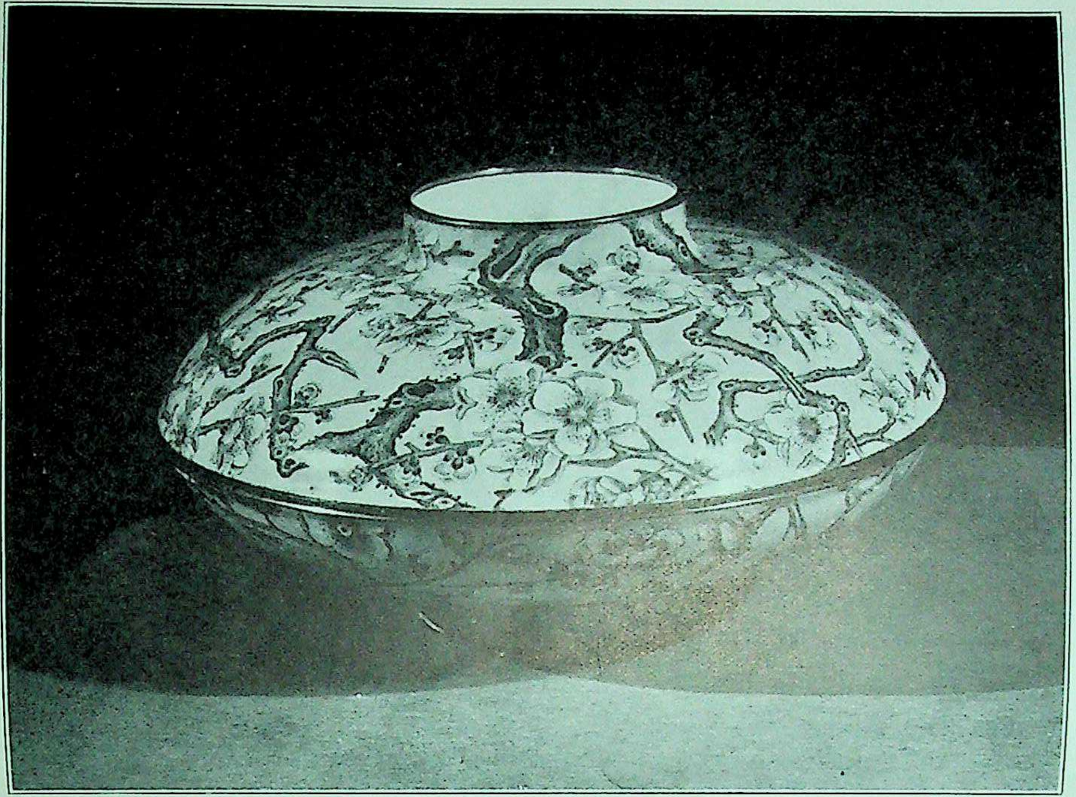
BOTTLE OF EGGSHELL PORCELAIN

Decorated in *famille rose* enamels. Ch'ien-Lung Period. Lent by Sir Percival David, Bt., London.



BLUE AND WHITE PORCELAIN VASE

15th Century A. D. Lent by the Topkapu Saray Museum, Istanbul. This was probably exported to Turkey shortly after its manufacture.



COVERED BOWL OF YELLOW CANTON ENAMEL

Decorated with pink blossoms. Ch'ien Lung Period (1736-1795). Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Clark, Iver Heath, Bucks, England.

1435). The fascinating history of blue and white porcelain could be traced in this exhibition as never before.

The variety of Ming wares which were exhibited was amazing. A brilliant Hsüan Te ruby red had more depth and richness than any of the K'ang Hi (1662-1722) oxbloods, of which the finest example came from the Morgan collection. This ruby red jug, glowing in color, was anything but beautiful in form and was credited with being made in the shape of a priest's hat. In reality it is an imperfectly understood copy of a European syrup jug, for the thumb-lever with which all users of steins are familiar was not attached to the movable lid, but appears, an exact copy in porcelain, attached firmly to the handle as a perfectly useless ornament. It is thus an extraordinarily interesting document, as are many other of the exhibits. It proves again that the Chinese have always been susceptible to outside influences.

In addition to the brilliant Ming reds and yellows and blues with foliated patterns, not common in America, and striking rather than subtle in design, were delicate cups and bowls of exquisite thinness and delicacy of color and decorative motif. One was impressed with the tremendous creative activity of an exuberant period.

There was some fine K'ang Hsi porcelain. Of the late wares the type known as Ku Yüeh Hsüan, painted with microscopic skill in enamel colors on thin white porcelain or white opaque glass, which was loaned by the Chinese Government, caused the greatest comment.

The exhibition was an outstanding success. Not only did it reflect the vast culture of China, but also appreciation of its high qualities by the nations of the world. Without international coöperation, such a fine exhibit could never have been held. Europe seems to have the finest porcelains outside China, with American collections stronger in the earlier wares. The finest bronzes shown came from European, American, and Japanese collections. As for the paintings it is safe to say that very few in the European collections came up to the high standards of the best Japanese and American collections.

A MUSICAL ANTIQUE

BY ELLSWORTH BRAUN

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS are much in the public eye at present for political and commercial reasons. There are, however, other things of interest there—things to appeal to both the music lover and the antiquarian. Being an amateur of the two arts several ancient, but serviceable, pipe organs in Manila churches had aroused my interest. Inquiries as to their age, builders, and the location of others brought out startling information—information that set me on the road to Los Piñas in a hurry.

Some ten miles south of the old Walled City that is the center of Manila, is the small town of Los Piñas. Its people are interested only in the little effort required to live, love and die; none of them have the faintest idea that their village contains one of the world's greatest antiques.

I found the old stone church, like so many others in the Islands, in bad state, roof sagging and yard cluttered with weeds. The Filipino Padre received me kindly, but seemed unable to understand why I should care to see an organ so old as to be out of use, and built in such poverty that its pipes were made of bamboo. He concluded, however, that my form of lunacy was harmless, and with two *muchachos* escorted me to the gallery of the church. Were the rumors I had heard true?

I must admit that I had been skeptical up to that moment. It could hardly be that so delicate and complicated an instrument as a pipe organ could be built of bamboo, but seeing is believing, for there it stood with its front about twelve feet wide, all of bamboo-speaking pipes, the largest being eight feet long and nearly five inches in diameter. As I went on with my examination the wonder grew. The horizontal reeds are of soft metal, rolled very thick, but with the exception of these one hundred and twenty-two pipes, every pipe in the organ is made of bamboo. As there are seven hundred and fourteen pipes the unique character of the old instrument may be imagined.

The most surprising thing is to find an organ one hundred and twenty-five years old with a five octave keyboard. The maker was eighty years ahead of his age. He placed a full octave of pedal notes below his one manual which has an 'F' scale. The upper keys were originally covered with bone, but have been stripped long ago. There are twenty-two stops arranged in two vertical rows, the names being written on a strip beside the knobs instead of on their faces.

One of the Filipino boys vigorously worked the handle of the old bellows, and I fingered the keys in an attempt to invoke the spirit of the eighteenth-century genius. The result was ghostly enough, I must say. The hoary old pipes began with one accord to weep and wail the dirge of their long dead master, and no howling dervish could have done better, or worse.

It has been long since the last Mass was played on the bamboo organ and the "cyphers" appear to have outvoted the rest of the box of whistles. The slides are stuck, and few of the stop knobs will draw. The action is a roller board and is in good order yet. Crude as is the workmanship, it stands, and if the chests were as good as the action and pipes it would be a good organ today.

Diego Cera was born in Spain in 1762 and early caused consternation in his little circle by showing an unholy interest in wheels and levers. A happy solution to Diego's waywardness was found, and he became a priest. Diego was also a musician and his mechanical bent led him to become an organ maker. In 1787 he became a priest and three years later a missionary to Mexico. From there he went to the Philippines where he served the church as priest and organ maker. The most interesting record of his skill is the bamboo organ at Los Piñas.

The old church is falling to pieces, but as the organ stands inside of and under one of the stone arches of the thick wall of the nave, it is thus partially protected from the weather. Many of the pipes are full of dirt and now speechless, but most of them are as good as the day they were finished in the seventeen hundreds. The old bamboo is as hard as iron and where not injured by rough handling is only the better for its long seasoning.

There is the inevitable "mixture" of five ranks on thirty notes in the treble organ, and it must have sounded queer when twenty of those squealing whistles were sounded in a (dis)chord. Like most old organs there is very little bass, and none of greater length than six foot stopped, and of course there were no string tones. The two metal reeds afforded the only variety in the assortment of flutes of every size and pitch. The tones of single pipes, when taken out and tested separately, are excellent. It struck me that old Padre Diego Cera had, all unknowingly I am sure, discovered something that might have been worth further development. Why not make pipe organs of bamboo? The wood is strong, grows in exactly the right form for pipes—long, round, and hollow—perfectly tight and almost everlasting. Padre Diego should have been a Yankee.

The old priest made many organs and several examples of his skill are scattered over the Islands. The records of the Order of Recoletos show that Diego built two bamboo organs at the same time: one, the one at Los Piñas, and the other sent to Spain as a gift to the Queen who prized it highly, saying that there was none like it in Spain or England. In this her royal highness was certainly correct, and unless the twin in Spain is still "living" (as the Tagalogs say of a watch), this relic at Los Piñas is the only organ of its kind in all the world. For the seeker after the unique and interesting it stands among the things of first importance.

Fr. Diego Cera died at the age of seventy-two in the convent of San Sebastian in Manila, thus closing a picturesque and interesting life that is now forgotten except for the name on a musty page and the organs he built of narra and bamboo.

Men have immortalized their names in paint, ink and marble, but it was left for the good missionary Padre Diego Cera to build to himself a monument of bamboo.

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BOOK NOTES

A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas. Volume I: *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity.* By Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, with supplementary essays by W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumont. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. Pp. xv + 482.

The series inaugurated by the present volume aims to present the story "of man's reflection upon the general course of his own history and upon the value of those achievements of his which have been most distinctive of that history"; it aims, in other words, to set forth and to interpret the appraisals made by men (chiefly in the Occident) throughout the course of time both "of the historic process in general and of the predominant tendency which was manifested in it—the tendency which we call the progress of civilization." Following a penetrating discrimination between and classification of the principal types of such theories, this first volume turns to expressions of chronological primitivism found in Greek and Roman mythology and historiography and to a portrayal of the genesis of the conception of 'nature' as norm; attention is then given to the relevant doctrines of the cynics and Epicureans, of Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Cicero, and the Stoics; chapters are introduced on "Anti-Primitivism in Greek Literature: Eighth to First Centuries B.C.," "The Noble Savage in Antiquity," "Anti-Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in Later Classical Literature," and "The Superiority of Animals." The supplementary chapters deal with primitivism in ancient Western Asia and in Indian Literature. As the title of the series indicates, the views of the writers considered are presented through the citation of their own words, careful translations of which, however, are given for the benefit of those who require them. The nature and the scholarly qualities of the volume are such as to make it indispensable for those who are interested in the history of ideas and in the philosophy of history.

A College Logic: An Introduction to the Study of Argument and Proof. By Alburey Castell. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935. Pp. xi + 392.

This brief text signifies another of an increasing number of recent attempts to convert the study of logic into something at once attractive and useful. From the conception of it as the "art of discovery" and the formulation of "rules for arriving at new truths," logic is to be thoroughly weaned; "it is only by keeping men from going astray, by disabusing them when they think they have reached their destination, that logic helps men on the road to truth." Logic is primarily the study and analysis of argument; its main burden is the systematic exploration of the various errors and fallacies to which our thought is heir. Pursuant to this end only the irreducible minimum of expository matter is retained.

The Freedom of Man. By Arthur H. Compton. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935. Pp. xiii + 153.

The author is doubtless correct in his belief that "few in this age would willingly base their lives on a philosophy which to the man of science is demonstrably false." From this, however, we may by no means draw his conclusion that "science thus takes the place of the foundation on which the structure of our lives must be built if we wish that structure to be stable." The interest of this book lies in what its distinguished writer has to say about the significance of the concept of indeterminism for physics, and in the revelation he gives of his own religious and metaphysical credo. What he says concerning the *foundations* of the latter (over and above showing that modern science imposes no veto on it) must to philosophical minds seem in part naive and on the whole unconvincing.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY announces with regret that the publication of the *Open Court* and the *Monist* will be temporarily discontinued. This issue, October, 1936 (Vol. 50, Number 939), of the *Open Court*, the July, 1936 (Vol. 46, Number 2) issue of the *Monist* are the final issues. We hope to resume publication later, perhaps in altered form with slightly altered emphasis, but with the same ideals for which both magazines stood.

The Open Court Publishing Company was founded in 1887 by Edward C. Hegeler of La Salle, Ill., for the purpose of establishing ethics and religion upon a scientific basis. It has formulated its aims differently at different times, but has always adhered to the same ideal of working out a religious reformation through the light that science affords. Without animositty to any of the established creeds of the world it stands for conservative progress based upon the most radical thought and fearless investigation. It holds that the established churches have their missions to perform, each in its way, but that it is highly desirable to raise their intellectual level to a higher plane and let the matured results of science enter into the fabric of religious convictions. Although this purpose has to a great extent been realized there is today perhaps even a greater need than formerly for tolerance of ideas and ideals and understanding between nations and races.

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